

# JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES

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Winter 2005

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## CONTRIBUTORS

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# Contributors

ILYA KHINEYKO is a doctoral student in the Department of History and Classics at the University of Alberta. His research area is Russian-Ukrainian relations since 1991, with a special focus on Russian media coverage of Ukraine and the formation of Russian national identity. His article on the Russian press coverage of the last presidential elections in Ukraine came out recently.

LINDY A. LEDOHOWSKI is a doctoral candidate in the Department of English at the University of Toronto. Her area of specialization is twentieth-century Canadian literature, with concentration on issues of ethnicity. Her Ph.D. dissertation focuses on Ukrainian-Canadian literature in English. She has presented numerous conference papers on Ukrainian-Canadian literature and has contributed an article on the poetry of Andrew Suknaski to the forthcoming collection *Andrew Suknaski: Essays on His Works*, ed. Rob McLennan (Guernica Editions).

THOMAS M. PRYMAK is a research associate of the Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies at the University of Toronto. He is the author of three books and numerous articles on Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian history.

JOHANNES REMY is a lecturer in Russian and East European studies at the University of Helsinki. Specializing in the history of the Russian Empire and the national question in the nineteenth century, he has published several articles on the Ukrainian and the Polish national movements. He is the author of *Higher Education and National Identity: Polish Student Activism in Russia 1832–1863* (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000).

MYROSLAV SHKANDRIJ is a professor in the Department of German and Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba. Specializing in modern Ukrainian literature, he has translated Mykola Khvylovy's polemical pamphlets of 1925–26 (CIUS Press, 1986), published Petro Karmansky's letters from and about Canada (UVAN in Canada, 1998), and edited an album on Ukrainian avant-garde art (Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2001). His latest book is *Russia and Ukraine: Literature and the Discourse of Empire from Napoleonic to Postcolonial Times* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).



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# Dmytro Doroshenko and Canada

*Thomas M. Prymak\**

Dmytro Ivanovych Doroshenko (1882–1951) was undoubtedly the most important and most prolific Ukrainian émigré historian of the twentieth century. Writing in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, that is, at a time when the term “Ukraine” was still relatively new to the Western public and when historical scholarship was strictly censored and restricted in the USSR, he popularized the idea that Ukraine had its own identity and independent history. He also espoused a conservative, but nonetheless progressive, philosophy in which care for the well-being and enlightenment of the common people was a central theme. He did this in his characteristically quiet and gentlemanly manner in works both popular and scholarly, published in many different languages and in several different Western countries. One of these countries was Canada, with which he had a close and relatively long-lasting relationship.<sup>1</sup>

During the interwar period Canada was home to a very large Ukrainian community, settled principally in the prairie West, which had its origins in the “great economic immigration” from Eastern Europe to the Americas in the years before the First World War. This community, which had been fairly well organized before the war and had a variety of

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\* I would like to dedicate this article to my mentor and friend of many years, Bohdan Budurowycz, Professor Emeritus of Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Toronto, on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of his emigration from Ternopil, Western Ukraine, to Western Europe and then Canada, 1944–2004.

1. For a general introductions to Doroshenko and his work, see my “Dmytro Doroshenko: A Ukrainian Émigré Historian of the Interwar Period,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 25, nos. 1–2 (2001): 31–56; and Liubomyr Vynar [Lubomyr Wynar], “Dmytro Ivanovych Doroshenko: Zhyttia i diialnist (u 50-littia smerty),” *Ukrainskyi istoryk* 38, nos. 1–4 (2001): 9–67, which give further references.

political, social, economic, and ecclesiastical institutions, was replenished by renewed immigration during the 1920s. However, these first waves of "Ruthenian," as they were then usually called, immigrants were made up largely of poorly educated countryfolk, impoverished villagers from the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna (before 1914) and from newly independent Poland, which had annexed the Ukrainian parts of Galicia in 1918. Only a very slight sprinkling of village priests and old-country intelligentsia accompanied the villagers to the new country, where acquaintance with the higher levels of education and sophisticated scholarship of the kind produced by Doroshenko was still in its initial stages.<sup>2</sup>

By the early 1920s, however, a definite beginning had been made. In fact, as early as 1916 a major Ukrainian student residence and cultural centre, the Petro Mohyla Institute, had been founded in Saskatoon and was located close to the University of Saskatchewan campus. The institute immediately became a focus of controversy when the Greek Catholic bishop of Canada tried to exercise control over it. This incident provided the spark that ignited a great popular revolt against the Greek Catholic Church. The institute eventually became a major institutional support for the newly founded and vociferously anti-Catholic Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, which claimed the loyalty of some of the most nationally conscious of the new Ukrainian-Canadian intelligentsia. Another strong institutional support for the Orthodox movement was the Winnipeg newspaper *Ukrainskyi holos*, edited by the fiery journalist Myroslaw Stechishin (1883–1947). *Ukrainskyi holos* generally took a populist or slightly left-of-centre position in Ukrainian politics and supported the Ukrainian republican movement, led by the pro-Western social democrat Symon Petliura, who resided in Paris in the early 1920s. By contrast, Doroshenko was a supporter of the conservative movement in Ukrainian politics, led by the former hetman, General Pavlo

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2. For some general treatments of the early history of the Ukrainian Canadians, see Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891–1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991); Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians 1891–1914* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1985); and the relevant chapters of *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart et al., 1982). For a general encyclopedic-style work on all periods of Ukrainian-Canadian history, see Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg and Ottawa: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1970).



Skoropadsky, who had briefly ruled in revolutionary-era Ukraine as a German-supported monarch. In the period following the revolution, Doroshenko's close friend, Viacheslav Lypynsky, who resided in Vienna between the wars, became the premier ideologist of this conservative hetmanite or monarchist movement. In 1924 *Ukrainskyi holos*, in spite of its ideological support of Petliura (who in late 1918 had helped to overthrow the hetman and re-establish the revolutionary republic), published a series of articles by Doroshenko discussing Lypynsky's conservative political philosophy. The articles appeared not under Doroshenko's real name but under the pseudonym M. Zabarevsky.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the *Ukrainskyi holos* circle showed some tolerance of Doroshenko's conservatism because he was not a Catholic but rather an Orthodox Christian from Eastern Ukraine. Certainly this circle eventually came to appreciate the historian's clear and simple style of writing, which made important ideas easy to understand for a wide range of readers, even those without a higher education. Doroshenko was, in fact, a brilliant popularizer of both Ukrainian historical ideas and Lypynsky's political philosophy.

Some light is thrown on the matter of Doroshenko's contributions to *Ukrainskyi holos* by his correspondence with Myroslaw's brother, Julian Stechishin (1895–1971). Julian was a central figure at the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon and, together with Myroslaw in Winnipeg, was elaborating a political philosophy that was to serve as the underpinning for the new Orthodox movement on the Prairies. In 1925 Julian sent Doroshenko, who was then a professor of history at the émigré Ukrainian Free University in Prague (*Ukrainskyi vilnyi universytet u Prazi*), an honorarium of twenty-five dollars for his previous contribution to *Ukrainskyi holos* and inquired about further materials. Stechishin particularly wanted to know about the degree of popular support for the hetmanite movement both among émigrés in Western Europe and in Ukraine itself. Doroshenko responded to this request but was doubtful that *Ukrainskyi holos* would publish this material. He referred to the strong republican position of *Ukrainskyi holos* and noted that the paper had just recently published some very severe attacks on the hetmanite

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3. M. Zabarevsky, "V. Lypynsky i ioho 'Lysty do bratviv-khliborobiv,'" *Ukrainskyi holos*, 27 August–8 October 1924. For a list of Doroshenko's publications in this period, see *Bibliohrafiia prats Prof. D. Doroshenka za 1899–1942 roky* (Prague: Vydavnytstvo T. Tyshchenka, 1942), esp. 31.

movement. In any case, the historian advised Stechishin that the material, if published, should be printed unsigned or under a pseudonym, since he was being vigorously attacked at the time by certain political rivals in Prague and accused of being disloyal to the liberal democratic Czech government, which financed the Ukrainian Free University and protected him. None of this material ever appeared in *Ukrainskyi holos*, and in 1926 correspondence between the two men temporarily ceased.<sup>4</sup>

In the next few years there seems to have been little contact between Doroshenko and Ukrainian Canadians. A brief excerpt from one of Doroshenko's booklets and a reprint of his memoirs about the revolution appeared in another Winnipeg newspaper, *Kanadiiskyi farmer*, but that was all.<sup>5</sup> More immediate contact was resumed, however, when an Orthodox activist left for Europe in 1932 to undertake Ukrainian studies at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. Petro I. Lazarowich (1900–83) had studied education at the University of Saskatchewan and law at Alberta College in Edmonton, and was deeply involved in Ukrainian affairs in Western Canada when he left for Europe. By that time Doroshenko was a senior professor of history at the Ukrainian Free University, and it was there that Lazarowich met him.<sup>6</sup>

Upon his return from Europe Lazarowich established a law practice in Edmonton and remained deeply involved in Ukrainian affairs, especially educational matters. He was a leading figure in the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada (Soiuz ukrainsiv samostiinykiv Kanady, or USRL), a populist and liberal-oriented lay brotherhood closely

4. The Doroshenko-Stechishin correspondence is in Library and Archives Canada (LAC), the Julian Stechishin Papers, MG30 D307, vol. 8, file 41. On Stechishin more generally, see Hryhory Udod, *Julian W. Stechishin: His Life and Work* (Saskatoon: Mohyla Institute, 1978).

5. Prof. D. Doroshenko, "From Short Course of the History of Ukraine. Ukrainiana," *Kanadiiskyi farmer*, 13 September 1929; idem, "Moi spomyny pro nedavnic-mynule (1914–1918). Drukuietsia z tekstu, avtorom nanovo perehlianutoho i vypravlenoho," *Kanadiiskyi farmer*, 1934, nos. 26–52 and 1935, nos. 1–43, listed in *Bibliohrafiia prats Prof. D. Doroshenka za 1899–1942 roky*, 34, 39, and 40. To my knowledge, this corrected text of Doroshenko's memoirs about the revolutionary period has never been reprinted. The Munich reprint of 1969 is based on the original uncorrected Lviv edition (1923).

6. Olha Woycenko to me, 1 February 1986 (hereafter, Woycenko's letter). On Lazarowich more generally, see the article on him in Mykhailo H. Marunchak, *Biohrafichnyi dovidnyk do istorii ukrainsiv Kanady* (Winnipeg: Ukrainska vilna akademiia nauk, 1986), 376.



affiliated with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. This was a quasi-political organization, which had emerged in the 1930s as a result of the ideological work of Julian Stechishin, his brother Myroslaw, and other Orthodox activists; it remained supportive of the Ukrainian republican movement in Europe, which had been led by Symon Petliura until he was assassinated in 1926.<sup>7</sup>

Besides Lazarowich, several leading members of the USRL were seriously devoted to spreading higher education and Ukrainian national consciousness, which in their view of things went together, among the Ukrainian immigrant population of Western Canada. During the 1930s this group brought a number of prominent scholars from Europe to deliver public lectures in several Canadian cities with a substantial Ukrainian community. In 1936, at Lazarowich's suggestion, the USRL considered inviting Doroshenko for a lecture tour of Canada. Some members of the USRL were hesitant to do so because Doroshenko continued to support Skoropadsky ideologically, but assured of Doroshenko's abilities and "objectivity" by another Prague professor, the sociologist Olgerd Bochkovsky, who had done a tour of Canada in 1936, and urged by the Stechishin brothers, the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon and its companion cultural institutions, the Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton and the USRL, proffered the invitation.<sup>8</sup>

Doroshenko received the invitation in December 1936 in Warsaw, where he had recently moved to become professor of church history in the university's Department of Orthodox Theology. He agreed to come to Canada on condition that the tour be strictly academic and entirely non-political. This presented no problems for the USRL and the arrangements were finalized.<sup>9</sup>

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7. For a general introduction to the USRL, which stresses its liberal position in Canadian politics, see Oleh Gerus, "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, ed. Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Stella M. Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 157–86.

8. Woycenko's letter. Also see Lazarowich's brief remarks in his pamphlet *Soiuz ukrainsiv samostiinykiv i ukrainska vyzvolna sprava* (Winnipeg: Soiuz ukrainsiv samostiinykiv, 1951).

9. Dmytro Burim, "Varshavskiy period zhyttia i diialnosti D.I. Doroshenka (1936–1939)," *Naukovi zapysky: Zbirnyk prats molodykh vchenykh ta aspirantiv* (Kyiv: Instytut ukrainskoi arkhеоhrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M.S. Hrushevskoho, 1999), 4: 283–96, esp. 289.

Thus in July and August 1937 Doroshenko toured Canada. He had a very busy schedule, which began with a great conference of USRL activists in Saskatoon, at which he gave the keynote address and received “lengthy applause.” Thereafter, he was supposed to give a sixty-hour course in Ukrainian history at the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, but because of Saskatchewan’s catastrophic drought, the course was moved to the Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton. It was designed primarily for high-school teachers. Lazarowich introduced the scholar to the Edmonton public at Doroshenko’s inaugural lecture, which was on Mykhailo Hrushevsky as a historian. Seventy-four people, including teachers, university students, businessmen, and even some ordinary workers, enrolled in the course; hence, it had to be transferred to a larger lecture hall at Alberta College. Upon concluding the course, Doroshenko delivered lectures in Saskatoon, Vegreville, Mundare, Regina, Winnipeg, Fort William, Toronto, Montreal, and several smaller towns scattered across the Prairies, where the bulk of Ukrainian Canadians lived. He also delivered a series of lectures about famous Ukrainian women to the Ukrainian Women’s Association in Edmonton. In Edmonton he stayed with a local Ukrainian women’s activist, Doris Yanda (b. 1905), and her lawyer husband, Dmytro (1892–1969), with whom he later corresponded. The lectures were a great success. In the larger cities from four to five hundred people—mostly professional people, but also businessmen and workers—came to hear the famous historian; in the towns the audiences were somewhat smaller, consisting of farmers, their wives, and sometimes even grandmothers with small grandchildren. Doroshenko managed to attract listeners from a wide spectrum of political groupings. He spoke diplomatically and graciously without offending any political group on the democratic left or the conservative right at a time when the Ukrainian ethnic community was every bit as polarized as Canadian society at large. The Ukrainian-Canadian press, including certain rivals of *Ukrainskyi holos*, responded to the professor’s visit very positively, and this was duly noted by the Winnipeg paper after his departure.<sup>10</sup> Ukrainian Canadians

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10. “Po vidizdi Profesora Doroshenka,” *Ukrainskyi holos*, 29 September 1937. Olha Woycenko identified the author of this piece as Rev. E. Hrycena (Ieronym Hrytsyna) (*Litopys ukrainskoho zhyttia v Kanadi* [Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1969], 4: 360). The press, however, made a few observations on the visit, which offended Hrycena. For example, I. Esaiw, the editor of Edmonton’s Catholic *Ukrainski visti*, noted that the idea of bringing Doroshenko to Canada was hardly new, since he had discussed the matter with the

generally seem to have been very pleased with Doroshenko's visit. In fact, they invited him to repeat the tour in the summer of 1938.<sup>11</sup>

Doroshenko was deeply moved by the warmth of his reception and the great success of his first Canadian tour. On 24 November 1937 he wrote to Doris Yanda from his home on Narbutt Street in Warsaw that he had been profoundly affected by his "pleasant and unforgettable impressions of Canada." He continued:

Those several weeks that I spent in Canada, especially the time that I spent in Edmonton, belong to the most beautiful days that I have lived through during the whole period of my emigration. My spirit was revived as if I became many years younger. I began to look more optimistically on our future, and you and your husband contributed to this to a great extent. I am grateful for all this to the depths of my heart.<sup>12</sup>

One month later Doroshenko informed Yanda that he had delivered a lecture about Canada to an audience of over one hundred people at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw (*Ukrainskyi naukovi instytut u Varshavi*).<sup>13</sup>

Shortly before this, the leading Galician Ukrainian newspaper, *Dilo*, published a detailed interview with Doroshenko about his Canadian tour. In the interview he described the positive reaction of Ukrainian Canadians to his visit. He said that in addition to his course, he had given forty-eight lectures in various places across the country and that both the

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prominent Ukrainian Canadian intellectual and supporter of the monarchist idea, Orest Zerebko, as early as 1930. Hrycena replied that it was only the USRL that had dared to finance the venture and actually brought it to fruition. *Ukrainski visti* also observed that Doroshenko had been surprised to discover upon arriving in Canada that the Mohyla Institute was not a scholarly research institution but merely an ordinary student residence (*zvychaina bursa*). Hrycena retorted that this was so, but that Doroshenko was not offended by this fact and that his trip had gone very smoothly.

11. Burim gives a brief outline of this first tour ("Varshavskyi period," 289–90). Woycenko summarizes the reports in *Ukrainskyi holos* (*Litopys*, 4: 340, 354–6, 358, 360). For the original report on the unexpected success of the history course in Edmonton, see "Nespodivanyi uspikh kursiv Prof. D. Doroshenka v Edmontoni," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 28 July 1937.

12. Doroshenko to Doris Yanda, 24 November 1937, LAC, the Doris Yanda Papers, MG30 D393, vol. 2, file 11. I am indebted to Professor Bohdan Budurowycz of Toronto for helping me to decipher Doroshenko's handwriting in this letter.

13. Doroshenko to Doris Yanda, 23 December 1937, LAC, the Doris Yanda Papers, MG30 D393, vol. 2, file 11.

Ukrainian- and the English-language press had covered the events fully. He then stated plainly:

The goal of my public lectures was to show Canadian Ukrainians that they are a part of a great people with an exceptional historical past and tradition. I tried to raise our Canadian brothers up in their own eyes and also in the eyes of the local English and French population, which has more or less ceased to regard the Ukrainians as a peasant people without its own territory and treats them as equals of other cultured citizens.

Doroshenko then turned to the subject of Ukrainian Canadians themselves and made some very positive observations. "Ukrainians in Canada," he said, "are standing on their own feet, and whatever they have achieved, they have achieved exclusively through their own hard work. 'Canadian Ukraine' gives us full rights to believe in the creative genius of the Ukrainian people." Doroshenko was reported to have stated also that Ukrainian Canadians "without exception" retained a deep sentiment for the old country, desired an independent Ukrainian state, and were ready to help it morally and materially, "although," he added, "one should not understand this to include help of a military character."<sup>14</sup> The final caution in this statement probably was included to reassure the Polish government, which was then engaged in a fierce struggle against the underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The latter was rumoured to receive funding from its supporting organizations in Canada and the United States, in particular from the rightist Ukrainian National Federation (Ukrainske natsionalne obiednannia, or UNF), which was a fierce rival of the USRL.

In 1938 Doroshenko returned to Canada for his second tour. At the beginning of the tour he gave a five-week course for Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton on the history of Ukrainian literature. According to *Ukrainskyi holos*, the course attracted over sixty students. He then spoke in Montreal, Ottawa, Saskatoon, and Winnipeg. Several speeches were devoted to the promotion of the émigré Museum of Ukraine's Struggle for Independence in Prague (Muzei vyzvolnoi borotby Ukrainy u Prazi) and a collection was taken to raise money for it. He also spoke on

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14. "Ukrainske zhyttia v Kanadi pulsuie zhyvym rytmom: Interviu z Prof. Dmytrom Doroshenkom," *Dilo*, 3 October 1937. Also see a summary of the interview in "Prof. D. Doroshenko hovoryt pro Kanadu," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 27 October 1937, and Voitsenko [Woycenko], *Litopys*, 4: 364.

Canadian radio programs.<sup>15</sup> He lectured as an independent scholar, and the United Hetman Organization (Soiuz hetmatsiv derzhavnykiv, or UHO), a Ukrainian émigré monarchist party supporting Hetman Skoropadsky and led in Canada by William Bossy (Volodymyr Bosy) (1899–1979) and Michael Hethman (Mykhailo Hetman) (1893–1981), did not seem to have any special control over him or contact with him. His visit was widely discussed in the press. Many years later Olha Woycenko, who was closely associated with *Ukrainskyi holos*, recalled that Doroshenko “was our house guest both in 1937 and 1938.”

My husband [Petro Woycenko (1882–1956)], the editor Myroslaw Stechishin, the lawyer J.W. Arsenych, and perhaps others often had lunch together at a restaurant nearby the offices of [the] U[krainian] V[oice]. A loyal hetman man and a businessman, A. Malofij, often picked him [that is, Doroshenko] up in his car and drove him home for dinner. But this man was not an extremist; he was a real gentleman and highly respected in the community. He got along with all factions. I don't think Doroshenko was in touch with Bossy or Hetman, at least I never heard. I must mention that members of all factions attended Doroshenko's lectures. This was as it was in Edmonton, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, and Toronto. Doroshenko was very tactful and was aware of the various factions in Canada so he chose to lecture as a high-calibre scholar should without offending anyone.<sup>16</sup>

During these Canadian tours, Doroshenko also made contact with some English-Canadian scholars. The most important of these was George Simpson (1893–1969), a professor of history at the University of Saskatchewan. Simpson's interest in Ukrainian affairs had been sparked by the presence at the university of several students of Ukrainian background who were sincerely devoted to the Ukrainian cause and whom he later described as “nationalistic.” As well, by the 1930s, the Petro Mohyla Institute was a thriving institution, and there and elsewhere on the Prairies demand for university courses in Ukrainian studies was growing. Simpson, with whom both Julian Stechishin, who by this time was practicing law, and the school teacher, Ivan Danylchuk (1900–1942), two important figures at the Mohyla Institute, were in close touch, suggested that English-language textbooks were imperative if such courses were to be launched. Lazarowich, who had become dominion president

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15. Burim, “Varshavskyi period,” 289–90; Voitsenko, *Litopys*, 4: 390–4.

16. Woycenko's letter.



of the USRL in July 1936, concurred, and the convention in July 1937 in Saskatoon, at which Doroshenko gave a very well-received address, passed a resolution binding the USRL executive to promote the publication of suitable textbooks in Ukrainian history and language. Thus, it was quite natural that a translation of Doroshenko's recently published master synthesis of Ukrainian history, his two-volume *Narys istorii Ukrainy* (Survey of Ukrainian History) should be proposed as a textbook. In fact, by the end of 1939, that is, in just two short years, this book was expanded by the addition of several new chapters by Doroshenko, put into English by the Europe-based librarian and journalist Hanna Chikalenko-Keller, edited with an introduction and update by Simpson, and published in 686 pages by the Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton under the title *History of the Ukraine*. This was the first general history of Ukraine in the English language.<sup>17</sup>

Doroshenko was invited to come to Canada for a third tour in 1939, but the approach of the Second World War, which broke out in September, cut off direct contact between the historian and the Canadians. All the same, his name was far from forgotten on the North American continent. His history sold quite well and to meet the demand had to be reprinted in 1940. Vladimir Kaye-Kisylewskyj (1896–1976), the director of the Ukrainian Information Bureau in London, who had migrated to Western Canada before moving to England and for a time had studied with R.W. Seton-Watson at London's School of Slavonic Studies, investigated the possibility of putting out another mass edition through Everyman's Library in England, but under war conditions nothing came of the idea. The Canadian edition of the book was very well received by young Ukrainians in Canada and the United States, who were hungry for basic materials about their East European heritage, and it was favourably, though not widely, reviewed both in Canada and the United States.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic within Nazi-occupied Europe, Doroshenko did not forget his Canadian compatriots. During the war he published two significant articles in German on the Ukrainians in

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17. Ibid. See also my "George Simpson, the Ukrainian Canadians, and the 'Pre-history' of Slavic Studies in Canada," *Saskatchewan History* 41, no. 2 (1988): 52–66.

18. See my *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988), Appendix E: "Ukrainian History and the War," 144–9, and my "General Histories of Ukraine Published in English during the Second World War," *Ab Imperio*, 2003, no. 2: 455–76.

Canada. The first of these, published in a German journal specializing in the study of the Eastern Christian churches, was devoted to the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada, the United States, and Brazil.<sup>19</sup> In this article Doroshenko stressed the popular and national character of the Ukrainian Orthodox movement in the Americas, but he also pointed out its weaknesses: primarily the questionable canonical status of the current bishop, Ioan Teodorovych, whose jurisdiction encompassed both Canada and the United States, and the preponderance of lay control, which led some parishes to break away from the central administration and to form schismatic independent churches. In Canada this administration was the so-called Winnipeg Consistory under Rev. Semen Sawchuk (1895–1983), which had a great deal of local autonomy because Bishop Ioan normally resided in Philadelphia.

The second article was devoted entirely to Ukrainian Canadians, and it deserves a more detailed analysis. In this article, which Doroshenko published in a well-known German ethnographical journal, he gave a brief social history of Ukrainian Canadians.<sup>20</sup> Doroshenko started by describing the difficult economic situation in eastern Galicia before 1914. This situation, he believed, caused the mass emigration of Ukrainians to Canada. A basic reason for this, he wrote, was the inadequate redistribution of land following the abolition of full serfdom in Galicia in 1848. Thus even after the emancipation the countryfolk continued to be oppressed by the local Polish landowning nobility. Doroshenko stressed the enormous difficulties the first settlers had to overcome in Canada: lack of education and inadequate knowledge of English, settlement on marginal land far from major centres of commerce, the necessity of clearing the land of bush, and so on. On the other hand, Doroshenko continued, each settler was given a “quarter section” (160 acres) of free homestead land and through hard work could quickly establish a thriving farm. Doroshenko noted that the Prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta had originally attracted the bulk of the emigration, but that ethnic dispersion was already occurring and that many Ukrainian farmers and workers had moved to the cities. He pointed out that about 40,000 of his compatriots resided in the city of Winnipeg,

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19. Dmytro Doroshenko, “Die ukrainische ostliche-orthodox Kirche in Kanada und in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika,” *Kyrios*, 1940, nos. 1–2: 153–7.

20. Dmytro Doroshenko, “Die Ukrainer in Kanada,” *Volksforschung* 5, nos. 2–3 (1942): 179–87.

which was already the major urban centre for the country's Ukrainians. The eastern cities of Montreal and Toronto followed with about 12,000 Ukrainians each, then came Edmonton in the west with 8,000.

Doroshenko estimated the total number of Ukrainians in Canada in 1939 to be about half a million (*rund eine halbe Million*), although he noted that official Canadian census figures put it closer to 300,000. He believed that the officials underestimated the true number of Ukrainians because they still counted many "Ruthenians," "Russians," and "Austrians" of Ukrainian origin in separate categories and not as Ukrainians. Following the 1937 yearbook of the newspaper *Ukrainskyi holos* (p. 92), the historian concluded that the Ukrainians presently formed the fourth largest ethnic group in Canada, outnumbered only by the "English,"<sup>21</sup> the French, and the Germans.

Doroshenko next noted that most of these Ukrainians traced their origin to Galicia, with smaller numbers coming from Bukovyna and only a light sprinkling from Carpatho-Ukraine and Dnieper Ukraine. Many of these Galician settlements, however, bore "national" rather than local Galician names. Thus there were settlements named after national heroes like Mazepa, Shevchenko, and Petliura. The Ukrainians, he believed, could establish such nationally named colonies because they tended to congregate in large "block settlements," scattered across the Prairies.

Doroshenko then turned to the cultural and political history of Ukrainian Canadians. He began by stating that their cultural development was somewhat less advanced than that of their compatriots in the United States. As an example, he gave the fact that the first Ukrainian newspaper in the United States, *Ameryka*, had appeared as early as 1886, while the first Ukrainian paper in Canada, *Kanadiiskyi farmer*, had appeared only in 1903. He explained this difference by the fact that Ukrainian Cana-

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21. By "English" (*Engländern*) Doroshenko evidently meant the various groups originating in the British Isles: English, Scots, Irish, and Welsh. If these groups were counted separately, then the Ukrainians of the time would have fallen below fourth place in the census of 1936; that is, to sixth place behind the Scots and the Irish, but before the Welsh and all others. Borys Myhal writes: "Response from the field in the 1921, 1926, and 1931 censuses continued to provide the Galician, Bukovinian, Ruthenian, and Ukrainian designations, though by 1931 the numbers of the first three had fallen to insignificance.... Starting in 1936 only Ukrainian was reported" ("Ethnicity and Ethnic Origins," in *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976*, ed. William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk [Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980], 21). The census of 1931 listed 225,113 Ukrainians in Canada (*ibid.*, 26).



dians had no educated elite for a longer time than Ukrainian Americans.<sup>22</sup>

According to Doroshenko, the absence of an educated and secularized elite meant that the first settlers in Canada organized much of their cultural life in traditional religious forms and put a great deal of energy into forming religious congregations and building churches. He observed that the first settlers, who were mostly Greek Catholics from Galicia, arrived without priests and attracted the attention of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Thanks to the 1910 visit of the Lviv metropolitan, Count Andrei Sheptytsky (1865–1944), church affairs were put in order, and a Greek Catholic bishop, Nykyta Budka, was eventually appointed for Canada.

However, there remained considerable dissatisfaction with Rome, which continued to forbid the marriage of Ukrainian priests in the New World. As well, Latinization of the Ukrainian Byzantine rite was already rather advanced, and Bishop Budka was less than tactful in allowing, and perhaps even promoting, Latinization. Religious tensions and national feelings became quite mixed and were aggravated by events in Eastern Europe. The revolution of 1917 in Russia and Russian-ruled Ukraine and the eventual establishment of national governments both in Kyiv and Lviv ignited the religious tinderbox, and a new Ukrainian national church was born, first in Ukraine and then in Canada. Doroshenko described the events in this way:

The World War and the establishment of a Ukrainian national state in Kyiv in 1917–18 caused fundamental changes in the ecclesiastical and general life of Canada's ordinary Ukrainians. When the news about the establishment of an independent Ukraine and the autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church, founded in it, reached Canada, there awakened in wide circles of the Ukrainian emigration a spontaneous movement with the slogans: "Away from Rome! Unity with the Ukrainian national church in the Ukrainian state!" The latent dissatisfaction with Rome and its ecclesiastical policy, which took no account of the national aspirations of the Ukrainians, now burst forth. Furthermore, the point was made that Orthodoxy was the national faith that nine-tenths of all Ukrainians confessed.<sup>23</sup>

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22. In fact, mass Ukrainian immigration to Canada only began in the mid-1890s, that is, at least a decade later than to the United States.

23. Doroshenko, "Die Ukrainer in Kanada," 183.

As a result, what Doroshenko called the new "Eastern Orthodox Ukrainian Church in Canada" was founded in 1918 at a conference in Saskatoon. Our émigré historian then gave a brief description of this church, mentioning once again its canonical and administrative problems and the renewed threat to it posed by a postwar resurgent and more nationally-oriented Greek Catholic Church. He then turned to consider Ukrainian secular organizations in Canada.

These organizations he listed as follows: the USRL, which, he stated, had some thirty branches scattered across the country and supported the Orthodox Church; the UNF, which had forty branches and was, in his view, primarily an anti-Polish organization; the UHO, which had forty branches and supported Skoropadsky; and, finally, the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (Tovarystvo ukrainskyi robitnycho-farmerskyi dim, or ULFTA), which had a spectacular hundred branches, was pro-Communist, and received financial support from the Soviet Union. All of these organizations had their own women's auxiliaries, youth wings, and press organs.<sup>24</sup>

Doroshenko concluded his survey with a brief account of Ukrainian participation in Canadian political life. He mentioned that the first Ukrainian had been elected to a provincial legislature in 1913 and to the federal parliament in 1926, and that many elected municipal posts were presently being filled by Ukrainians. However, he noted, the younger generation was already strongly assimilated into English-Canadian society (*verenglischt wird*), although much was being done by the more nationally conscious Ukrainians to delay this process. The efforts of the latter took the form of distributing Ukrainian books, newspapers, and magazines, bringing Ukrainian writers and scholars over from Europe, and establishing Ukrainian "chairs" (*Lehrstühle*) or professorships at the universities in Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Winnipeg. The Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches were also important. Doroshenko concluded, however, by cautioning that the entire long-term situation of Ukrainians

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24. For a more detailed description of these organizations on the eve of the war and their political orientations, see my *Maple Leaf and Trident*, 16–33. In terms of actual size, the pro-Communist ULFTA was by far the largest and most important Ukrainian secular organization in the country, followed by the liberal democratic USRL, then by the revolutionary nationalist/rightist UNF, and lastly by the pro-German but traditionally conservative UHO.

in Canada was dependent upon what he called a "favourable resolution" of the Ukrainian question in Europe.

However, in the eyes of most Ukrainian Canadians, the outcome of the Second World War did not bring a "favourable resolution" to the Ukrainian question in Europe. The westward march of the Red Army and the Soviet annexation of Western Ukraine, formerly under the Poles, Romanians, and Czechs, caused a mass flight of the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia and the Prague émigrés to Western Europe, where they were joined by many refugees from Dnieper Ukraine and elsewhere. Doroshenko himself, who had moved back to Prague during the war, now abandoned his library and archives, including valuable unpublished manuscripts and correspondence, in the Czech capital, and fled to the part of Germany occupied by the Western allies. Fear of the advancing Soviets was evident everywhere. As early as the summer of 1945, that is, at a time when communications between North America and Europe were still quite difficult, George Simpson received a note from the historian, who was stranded in Augsburg and wished to move, as he put it, "further west, even across the ocean." Doroshenko asked Simpson to communicate with Petro Woycenko in Winnipeg and Petro Lazarowich in Edmonton, and Simpson seems to have done so immediately. Word of Doroshenko's distress spread quickly among his friends in Canada. Jaroslaw W. Arsenych, his colleague John R. Solomon, and others soon got involved. "If the Russians lay their hands on Professor Doroshenko," wrote Lazarowich in a letter of 4 July 1945 to Arsenych, "we will never see him alive again." Simpson, Lazarowich, and in particular, the Winnipeg lawyer Solomon, immediately made representations to the minister of mines and natural resources, J.A. Glen, who seems to have been in charge of immigration matters at that time, but the Ottawa bureaucracy would not budge. Glen replied to Simpson and the others that there were as yet no Canadian immigration facilities in continental Europe, that it was "impossible to obtain westbound transatlantic passenger accommodation," and, at any rate, Doroshenko was not admissible to Canada under the then existing regulations.<sup>25</sup>

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25. Much of the correspondence concerning Doroshenko's possible admission to Canada in 1945, including his handwritten letter in English to Simpson, is in the University of Saskatchewan Archives, George Simpson Papers, Ukrainian files, 1945-49. A portion of this material is summarized in my "George Simpson," 62.

The general situation of Doroshenko and other Ukrainian refugees in Western Europe at that time was, in fact, desperate. Under the Yalta agreement, concluded in early 1945 between the Western allies and the USSR, all refugees were to be returned to their homelands at the conclusion of hostilities. There were over two million Ukrainian refugees (called Displaced Persons or DPs) in Western Europe at war's end, and many of them had no desire to return to a homeland now under Soviet rule. Soviet "repatriation" teams, which included members of the dreaded Soviet political police, were allowed into the Western zones of occupation, and British and American soldiers often cooperated with them in the forcible return of the refugees. Doroshenko himself, of course, was in grave danger and, as his former student, the historian Borys Krupnytsky, later recalled, had to live for a while "incognito or under a pseudonym." But, he managed to escape the Soviets seemingly with the help of certain Ukrainian-Canadian servicemen in the Canadian armed forces in occupied Germany.<sup>26</sup> It was probably through the same servicemen that Doroshenko eventually got in touch with the church administrator, Rev. Semen Sawchuk of Saint Andrew's College, an Orthodox institution in Winnipeg. Sawchuk, who for a brief period was a chaplain with the Canadian armed forces stationed in England, sent the historian an invitation to come to Canada and teach at Saint Andrew's, but for some time Doroshenko had problems obtaining a visa. By 1947, however, communications and Canadian immigration policy had changed, and he obtained a Canadian visa.<sup>27</sup>

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26. At a conference on Ukrainian DPs sponsored by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario (held in Toronto in the mid-1980s), one of these DPs, a member of the audience, publicly thanked one of the servicemen, Bohdan Panchuk, on behalf of Doroshenko. More generally, see Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, ed., *Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983). During this confused initial period of occupation, Panchuk and his colleagues roamed West Germany distributing home-made identification cards in English to Ukrainian DPs; these cards stated that the bearers were under the protection of Panchuk's organization, the London-based Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association. On numerous occasions, it seems, this simple tactic saved otherwise documentless refugees from forcible deportation east. For Krupnytsky's remarks, see his "Dmytro Doroshenko: Spohady uchnia," *Naukovyi zbirnyk* (New York: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, 1952), 1: 20-1.

27. Nataliia Doroshenko, "Uryvky spomyniv," *Ukrainskyi litopys: Zhurnal ukrainskoi derzhavnytsoi dumky, kultury i nauky* 1 (Augsburg, 1953): 139-51, esp. 147; Prymak, "George Simpson," 62.

At this time, the idea of moving to North America was becoming a reality for many Ukrainian DPs stranded in Western Europe. From 1945 to 1947 the scholars among them had established émigré learned institutions in the DP camps in Germany; now the question of transferring some of these institutions, together with their personnel, to North America arose. Doroshenko, who had been elected the first president of one of the foremost of these institutions, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (*Ukrainska vilna akademiia nauk*, or UVAN), seems to have had these considerations in mind when on 8 August 1947 he wrote to his colleague, the historian Oleksander Ohloblyn:

I am very sad to leave my countrymen with whom I have lived for more than two years in Bavaria, sharing grief, poverty, and all kinds of emotions and fears. But I take comfort in the thought that I go not only for my own advantage and to work in more formal conditions, but also for the sake of paving the way for the transfer of our scholars and to lay the foundations of a Ukrainian scholarly centre in the States or in Canada.<sup>28</sup>

Several weeks later Doroshenko went to Paris, where he stayed for two months before boarding a ship for Canada.

On 28 November 1947, at the start of a very cold prairie winter, Doroshenko and his wife Nataliia arrived at the Canadian Pacific Railway Station in Winnipeg. They were met by a small delegation of prominent Ukrainian Canadians, including Olha Woycenko, with whom Doroshenko had stayed on his two previous trips to Winnipeg. Woycenko, who had been greatly impressed by the gentlemanly historian during his previous visits, was now shocked at the appearance of the Doroshenkos. "It was a pathetic sight," she later wrote. "They looked tired and aged. They had only one suitcase and a few small bundles, the only possessions after the ravishes of war and years of exile."<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, Doroshenko immediately took up his position at Saint Andrew's College and by 12 December, for the modest salary of \$135 a

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28. Quoted in Vynar, "Dmytro Ivanovych Doroshenko," 51. As early as March 1947 Doroshenko had informed the UVAN administration of his plan to go to Canada and had begun making arrangements to transfer the institution to the North American Dominion.

29. See Woycenko's covering note in LAC, the Olha Woycenko Collection, MG30 D212, vol. 23, file 12, Doroshenko, 1937–49 (hereafter, Woycenko's covering note). Also see, Voitsenko, *Litopys ukrainskoho zhyttia v Kanadi* (Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1973), 5: 304, 307.



month, was teaching the subjects in which he specialized. The inaugural lecture was on ecclesiastical history as a part of universal history. His teaching load seems to have been quite full. He taught church history within the college's Department of Theology, and the history of Ukraine and the history of Ukrainian literature within the Department of the Humanities.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, in spite of the loss of his library and archives during the war, Doroshenko resumed his research and writing. He devoted his intellectual energies to five areas. First, he updated his previous synthetic work on Ukrainian history by writing new chapters for Ivan Krypiakevych and Mykola Holubets's *Velyka istoriia Ukrainy* (The Great History of Ukraine); these chapters described the Soviet regime of the 1920s and the 1930s, interwar Western Ukraine under the Poles, the fate of Ukrainian lands during and after the war, and what he called the "great pan-Ukrainian emigration" (*velyka vse-ukrainska emigratsiia*) of the intelligentsia and many other Ukrainians westward. This work was published in large format and in very attractive binding by Ivan Tyktor (1896–1982), who had headed a large and successful publishing house in Lviv between the wars and resumed his professional work in the New World by reprinting some of his more important interwar volumes, including *Velyka istoriia Ukrainy*.<sup>31</sup> Secondly, Doroshenko continued his research on the Ukrainian community in Canada. He did this systematically, beginning with a major bibliography on the Ukrainian Canadians, which he undertook with the help of the young Manitoba scholar, Paul Yuzyk.<sup>32</sup> He also edited a large volume of materials on Ukrainian Cana-

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30. Saint Andrew's College academic calendar for 1948–49 and the recollections of Oleh Krawchenko, Winnipeg, who at that time was a student of Doroshenko's. I am indebted to Raisa Moroz, librarian at the college, for conveying this information to me. Also see, Voitsenko, *Litopys*, 5: 307.

31. Ivan Krypiakevych and Mykola Holubets, *Velyka istoriia Ukrainy*, 2d ed. supplemented by Dmytro Doroshenko (Winnipeg: Ivan Tyktor, 1948). In this volume Doroshenko for the first time had an opportunity to describe both the Polish oppression of the Western Ukrainians between the wars, which he had to gloss over in his previous works when he was a professor at the University of Warsaw, and the Nazi ravages in Ukraine from 1941 to 1944, which he obviously could not discuss in his *Istoriia Ukrainy z maliunkamy dlia shkoly i rodyny* (Cracow and Lviv, 1942). In *Velyka istoriia Ukrainy* he also described the Ukrainization program in Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s and the recurrent purges of the 1930s. Amazingly, however, unlike in his previous English-language *History of the Ukraine*, in this volume he did not mention the Great Famine of 1932–33 in which, it is generally agreed, millions perished.

32. According to the Finding Aid to the Paul Yuzyk Collection, the card file of this

dians for the Ukrainian National Home, an important Ukrainian institution in Winnipeg with a very large library and cultural program. In this book Doroshenko and his Canadian colleagues stressed Ukrainian-Canadian connections with, and loyalty to, the Crown. Thus there is a detailed discussion of Governor General Lord Tweedsmuir's 1936 speech to the Ukrainian Canadians in which he stated that by being good Ukrainians they would also be good Canadians, and there is also a very detailed description of the warm reception that Ukrainian Canadians gave the King and Queen during the royal tour of 1939.<sup>33</sup> Thirdly, at the suggestion of Olha Woycenko and, in spite of some misgivings about the loss of his archives and records, Doroshenko wrote a new volume of memoirs dealing with his cultural and political activities before the revolution. In these memoirs, which are a real gem in the history of Ukrainian memoir literature, he described the vicissitudes and major figures of the Ukrainian national movement before 1914. Doroshenko knew most these figures quite well and was quite balanced and moderate in his judgments of them, even of those with whom he later firmly disagreed. Time and distance probably played some role in the writing of this particular book.<sup>34</sup> Fourthly, seemingly in tandem with his teaching duties at Saint Andrew's College, he wrote on general church history, and his two short volumes on this subject were eventually published in Winnipeg. The first of these dealt with early church history and the second, specifically with Ukrainian church history.<sup>35</sup> Fifthly, he spent the fall and winter of

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bibliography is preserved in LAC, the Yuzyk Papers, MG32 C67, vol. 6, file 7.

33. *Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho narodnoho domu u Vynypogu*, ed. Dmytro Doroshenko (Winnipeg: Ukrainkyi narodnyi dim, 1949).

34. Dmytro Doroshenko, *Moi spomyny pro davnie-mynule: 1901–1914 roky* (Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1949). On the title page of a copy of this volume, a photocopy of which is preserved in the Olha Woycenko Collection, Doroshenko inscribed the following dedication in Ukrainian: "To the highly respected (*vysokopovazhanii*) and dear Mrs. Olha Woycenko, on whose initiative and with whose help this book was published. I am very thankful. The author. Winnipeg, 24. V. 1949." Woycenko added some marginalia noting that the book was written in a "few weeks' time," solely from memory only a few months after the historian's arrival in Canada and was first published serially in *Ukrainskyi holos*. See LAC, the Olha Woycenko Collection, MG30 D212, vol. 23, file 12, Doroshenko, 1937–49.

35. Dmytro Doroshenko, *Korotkyi narys istorii Khrystiianskoi Tserkvy* (Winnipeg: Naukove tovarystvo Kolieghii sv. Andriia, 1949); idem, *Pravoslavna Tserkva v mynulomu i suchasnomu zhytti ukrainskoho narodu* (Berlin: Natsiia v pokhodi, 1940; repr. Winnipeg, n.d.). I do not know whether the reprint was published before or after Doroshenko's death.

1949–50 and the following spring writing a popular history of Ukrainian literature, probably for the use of the students of Saint Andrew's. This book was completed and the manuscript submitted to Rev. Sawchuk by Doroshenko's wife Nataliia, but for some reason it was never published.<sup>36</sup>

Word about Doroshenko's emigration to Canada and Canada's ready reception of Ukrainian refugees spread quickly throughout the Ukrainian emigration in Europe. For example, in 1948 the famous Ukrainian poet and literary critic Ievhen Malaniuk (1887–1968) asked the young scholar Bohdan Budurowycz, who was about to depart for Canada, to get in touch with Doroshenko in Canada and ask him if he could help Malaniuk emigrate to Canada. In the winter of 1948–49, as soon as Budurowycz arrived in Dauphin, Manitoba, he wrote to Doroshenko in Winnipeg about Malaniuk. Doroshenko promptly replied that, unfortunately, he was in no position to help Malaniuk. Budurowycz passed the letter on to the poet.<sup>37</sup>

But others did manage to come to Canada. Two particularly important figures were the literary historian, Leonid Biletsky (1882–1955), a colleague of Doroshenko's from Kyiv and Prague, and the philologist Jaroslav Rudnycky (1910–1995), who was from Galicia but had spent some time in Prague during the war. Both arrived in Canada in January 1949 and immediately began organizing a Canadian branch of UVAN, the émigré institution founded in Augsburg, Germany, in 1945. Doroshenko, its founding president in Europe, was greatly impressed by young Rudnycky's energy and enthusiasm and became active in establishing the Canadian branch, which he headed. In 1951 he was succeeded by Biletsky, who a few years later was succeeded by Rudnycky. Woycenko wrote that "the three scholars used to meet quite often at Doroshenko's small apartment. The one year and a half that this trio worked together, they accomplished quite a bit."<sup>38</sup> In fact, by the 1950s UVAN in Canada became a major centre of Ukrainian émigré scholarship, publishing a large number of serials and several weighty tomes of materials in Ukrainian and Slavic studies.<sup>39</sup> The concurrent establishment of a new

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36. N. Doroshenko, "Uryvky spomyniv," 148.

37. Information from Bohdan Budurowycz, Toronto. Shortly afterward Malaniuk emigrated to the United States and settled in New York.

38. Woycenko's letter. Also see, Vynar, "Dmytro Ivanovych Doroshenko," 52.

39. See "Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, ed.



Department of Slavic Studies, headed by Rudnyckyj, at the University of Manitoba offered further hope that Winnipeg would be a congenial place for Doroshenko to continue his academic and other work.

It was not to be. Doroshenko, already worn out by the hardships of war and exile, and the frequent changes of residence, found no peace in Winnipeg. The level of cultural life around him and the harsh prairie climate began to take their toll. His previous optimism about and enthusiasm for Ukrainian-Canadian society now began to wane. On 1 October 1949 he replied to an inquiry from his colleague Ohloblyn, who was still in Europe, that life in Winnipeg was difficult because of the harsh winter, the continual cold, and the illnesses that went with it. Moreover, life in Winnipeg was like "life on a completely different planet.... Your letter returned me to a world of interests that does not exist here in Canada, because cultural life (in our understanding of the word) does not exist here. Materialism rules all."<sup>40</sup>

Doroshenko's depressed psychological state was caused in large part by unexpected developments at Saint Andrew's College. The institution was facing financial problems, and in spring 1949 its dean, Professor Martynovsky, informed the historian that from then on he would be paid only for the months he actually spent lecturing, that is, from September to April. The rest of the year he would be left without an income. "To say the least," Woycenko wrote, "this was a shock to the Professor as he had no other revenue and no other reserves. At that time he was sixty-seven years of age [and] had a wife to support as well as himself. This upset him to the point that it had a bearing on his health."<sup>41</sup> Over the course of 1949 it became clear that he would not be invited to return to work at Saint Andrew's. At the same time a throat malady that he had recently developed worsened: he began to lose his voice, and he fell into ever deeper bouts of depression. For some time he absolutely refused to believe that Rev. Sawchuk and the administration of Saint Andrew's could leave him in such a precarious predicament and, forgetting himself

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Danylo Husar Struk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 5: 347–8; Ia. Rudnytsky [J.B. Rudnyckyj], "Ukrainska vilna akademiia nauk u Kanadi: Pochatkovyi period, roky 1949–1955," in *Zhyttievyi dosvid ukrainsiv u Kanadi: Refleksii / The Ukrainian Experience in Canada: Reflections*, ed. Oleh W. Gerus et al. (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1994), 163–72.

40. Cited in Vynar, "Dmytro Ivanovych Doroshenko," 52.

41. Woycenko's covering note.

completely, he paced about his tiny apartment exclaiming: "How could they do this to me? I am not a criminal. They themselves invited me here. I have worked fifty years for Ukraine. Why didn't they tell me about this beforehand?"<sup>42</sup>

Doroshenko's personal relations with Sawchuk also seem to have had a certain bearing on his employment situation and his financial distress. It was rumoured within Orthodox circles in Winnipeg that Sawchuk held a grudge against Doroshenko because of the latter's friendship with another new arrival in the city, Rev. Ivan Ohienko (1882–1972), a distinguished churchman and scholar in his own right and a friend of Doroshenko's since pre-revolutionary times. Sawchuk was in bitter conflict with Ohienko over local church politics. Sawchuk's attitude towards Doroshenko was anything but sympathetic or supportive, and this is clearly reflected in the memoirs of Doroshenko's wife, Nataliia.<sup>43</sup> Certainly, Doroshenko's situation was difficult.

It was not, however, impossible. That same year an UVAN committee was formed to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the professor's scholarly and public career and to help him financially. The committee was headed by Biletsky; Rudnyckyj was one of the vice-chairmen and Woycenko was treasurer. Sawchuk, however, after unsuccessfully trying to bring the committee under the control of Saint Andrew's College, which held a small gathering in Doroshenko's honour, "boycotted" the affair.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the committee's functions were a great success.

42. N. Doroshenko, "Uryvky spomyniv," 147–8. Oleh Gerus's letter to me, 13 February 2000 (hereafter, Gerus's letter), also notes the bouts of depression. Gerus seems to have gotten this information from Sawchuk, whom he interviewed in the early 1970s in connection with a new edition of Doroshenko's *History of the Ukraine*. Gerus re-edited and updated this book under the more accurate title *A Survey of Ukrainian History* (Winnipeg: Humeniuk Publication Foundation, 1975; repr. 1980).

43. See N. Doroshenko "Uryvky spomyniv"; also see, Woycenko's covering note. Woycenko even held Sawchuk, of whom she had a very low opinion, responsible for Doroshenko's premature death. On Ohienko's dispute with Sawchuk and his group, see Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981), 191. This dispute was later resolved and Ohienko was eventually elected metropolitan of the church, taking the name Metropolitan Ilarion. Gerus does not believe that Sawchuk was vindictive towards Doroshenko. He writes: "It seems that Doroshenko was a victim of circumstance and indifference rather than of ill will" (Gerus's letter). On Sawchuk more generally, see Oleh Gerus, "The Reverend Semen Sawchuk and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 16, nos. 1–2 (1991): 61–88.

44. Olha Woycenko's marginalia and letter to P. Lazarowich, 23 October 1949, LAC,

On 13 November 1949 it held a large banquet in Doroshenko's honour, published a booklet describing his scholarly and public career, and raised over \$2,500, a very large sum in those days, to support him.<sup>45</sup>

However, Doroshenko's health problems continued. "The stay in Canada was fatal for him," a relative later wrote. "He lived in very difficult material circumstances and did not survive the climate. Already very sick, he wanted to return to Europe: although not to his homeland, but all the same, closer to it."<sup>46</sup> In 1950, after two unsuccessful throat operations, the disappointed and ailing historian shocked the bulk of the DP emigration, which was in the process of moving to the Americas, by returning to Europe, where the threat of a new war between the Soviet Union and the West was already looming. He did so by way of the United States, where he stopped in Detroit to deliver an address to a gathering commemorating the seventeenth-century Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and to consult a physician concerning his throat ailment. Thereafter he travelled to France and stayed in Paris for a while before continuing to Germany.

Meanwhile in Winnipeg word had gotten out about Doroshenko's difficult situation at Saint Andrew's. The rumours now spread well beyond the Orthodox community, and articles on the subject began to appear in the press. Edmonton's Catholic *Ukrainski visti* and the UNF's *Novyi shliakh*, both long-standing rivals of *Ukrainskyi holos* and the Orthodox USRL, alluded to the subject in various articles. The UNF organ asked ironically: "Is it not because of that pleasant atmosphere in our Orthodox centre in Winnipeg that, all the same, the seventy-one-year-old Professor Doroshenko decided to leave his post as professor at Saint Andrew's and return in his old age (and at this time!) to Europe?!" Stung by what it considered to be a general aspersion upon the Orthodox, *Ukrainskyi holos* in an unsigned article struck back saying that whatever

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the Olha Woycenko Collection, MG 30 D212, vol. 23, file 13, Jubilee Committee, 1949. Also see "Vshanuvaly Prof. Doroshenka," *Ukrainskyi holos*, 19 October 1949, which reports that at the Saint Andrew's gathering Sawchuk wished Doroshenko a quick recovery from his health problems, and it was noted that the throat ailment did not allow the professor to continue his lectures.

45. Woycenko's covering note. See also Leonid Biletsky, *Dmytro Doroshenko* (Winnipeg: UVAN, 1949). This pamphlet was the first in the UVAN series "Ukrainski vcheni."

46. Nataliia Doroshenko-Savchenko, "Dmytro Ivanovych Doroshenko: Z nahody 5-richchia smerty," *Svoboda*, 2 May 1956.

the political situation among the Orthodox, Doroshenko had always kept his distance from church politics and had returned to what it called “sunny Europe” for health reasons alone. The paper maintained that through private sources it had recently learned that, in fact, the professor was already beginning to recover.<sup>47</sup>

Unfortunately, these private sources turned out to be mistaken. Although Doroshenko rested and recovered slightly during the return ocean voyage, his condition did not improve in France and deteriorated even further in Germany. He died in Munich on 19 March 1951, and his loss was sorely felt by Ukrainians scattered throughout Canada and the Western world.<sup>48</sup>

Doroshenko's contacts with Canada and the Ukrainian Canadians were remembered long after his demise. These had taken many forms. First, through his courses at Alberta College and his lecture tours in the 1930s, Doroshenko had participated in the general movement espoused by some leading members of the USRL to raise the educational level, self-confidence, and national consciousness of the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada. His audience was mainly from the second generation of Ukrainian Canadians, who, like his admiring younger lady friends, Doris Yanda in Edmonton and Olha Woycenko in Winnipeg, had been born in Canada. Long deprived of intellectual leadership, this generation was deeply inspired by the gracious scholar from Central Europe who had taken the time and effort to visit this far-off Ukrainian colony and inform it about the cultural achievements of the Ukrainian political emigration in Central Europe. Doroshenko's brilliance as a popularizer of these achievements fit in perfectly with the USRL's plans for popular enlightenment, and these tours were an unqualified success. Secondly, during the war years, Doroshenko informed the scholarly public in Nazi-occupied Europe of the existence and progress of the Ukrainian community in Canada. His remarks on the history of this community were well informed, clearly expressed, and not uncritical.

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47. See “Liudy i spletni,” *Ukrainskyi holos*, 4 October 1950, citing *Ukrainski visti*, 15 August 1950 and quoting from *Novyi shliakh*, 1950, no. 59.

48. S. Nahai, “Khronolohichniy pokazhchyyk vazhlyvishykh podii z zhyttia D.I. Doroshenka,” *Ukrainskyi litopys* 1 (1953): 18; N. Doroshenko, “Uryvky spomyniv”; *Ukrainskyi holos* announced Doroshenko's death on its front page (28 March 1951), and on 4 April ran an obituary by Leonid Biletsky, which stated that “this news passed through Winnipeg like a bolt of electricity and shook all Ukrainian society.”

Thirdly, after the war he contributed to the advancement of higher education and research on Ukraine at Saint Andrew's College and at the new postwar scholarly institutions like UVAN. In spite of the impediments of age and harsh experiences, Doroshenko remained incredibly productive during this last phase of his scholarly career. Up to his final departure from Winnipeg he continued to produce books and articles.

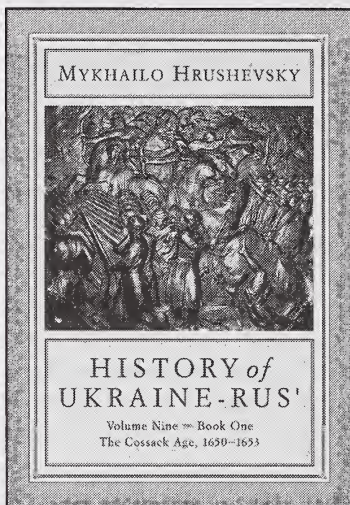
In turn, Doroshenko received much from Ukrainian Canadians. First, of course, during his early tours of Canada, they provided him with an eager audience, which appreciated his fluid style and his "popularizing" approach to scholarship and lecturing. They re-established, as it were, his contact with the common people, the *narod* from which he had been separated during his years in Central European exile. The warm reception accorded him lifted his spirits, strengthened his resolve, and gave him a very idealized picture of Canada. At this time Ukrainian Canadians also provided him with financial support to take back with him to Ukrainian émigré institutions in Central Europe, especially Prague. Secondly, shortly before and during the war, Ukrainian Canadians provided him with the financial and technical support necessary for publishing in English and distributing his most widely read book, his masterly *History of the Ukraine*. This book had a powerful effect on public opinion in the North American Dominion and made his name well known in academic circles well beyond the Prairie Provinces, where it was printed.<sup>49</sup> Thirdly, in the postwar years Ukrainian Canadians came to his rescue in war-torn Germany and made possible the transfer of UVAN to Canada, where for a brief time the tired scholar was still able to thrive. The severe blows of exile, war, and emigration, followed by the difficulties of émigré life in a far-off land with an extreme climate and unending factional disputes eventually wore him out, and during this final period Doroshenko's idealized image of Canada completely disintegrated. But for many years his collaboration with the New World was mutually beneficial. In spite of the brevity of his visits and final emigration to North America, the soft-spoken gentleman, ever reluctant to enter into personal or political confrontations with his contemporaries, gave much to Ukrainian Canada. His legacy will not be soon forgotten.

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49. At a farewell meeting shortly before Doroshenko's final departure from Winnipeg, Solomon declared that it was only after the appearance of the English-language *History of the Ukraine* that the English-speaking world ceased to call Ukrainians "Ruthenians" (N. Doroshenko, "Uryvky spomyniv," 151).



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## **Panslavism in the Ukrainian National Movement from the 1840s to the 1870s**

*Johannes Remy\**

The political unity of the Slavs was a fairly prominent idea in the Ukrainian national movement in its beginning phase from the 1840s to the 1870s. Besides wanting to distance Ukraine from Russia, the Ukrainian activists placed their hopes on a Panslavic union for two important reasons: first, because Ukraine stood at the intersection of the Great Russian and Polish high cultures and political influences and, secondly, because the Ukrainian movement was relatively weak, so that Ukraine's full independence seemed unrealistic. The established literary language in Left-Bank Ukraine at the time was Russian, and in West-Bank Ukraine, Polish. For the early Ukrainian national activists Panslavism offered the prospect of a politically distinct existence without a complete break with either Russian or Polish culture. The goal of Ukrainian statehood clashed with established Russian and Polish ideas about the dimensions of the respective countries and nations. While Russian rulers and historians claimed that medieval Kyivan Rus' and Eastern Christianity defined the limits of the Russian nation, the Poles defined their nationality on the basis of the pre-partition borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> For the Russian authorities all the East

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1. Jaroslaw Pelenski, *The Contest for the Legacy of Kievan Rus'* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1998), 213–26; Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 27–30, 119–21; Stephen Velychenko, *National History as Cultural Process: A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian, and Ukrai-*

Slavic Orthodox inhabitants of the empire were Russians; for the Polish nationalists all the inhabitants of the previous commonwealth were Poles. While Russia was a great power, the Polish national movement had considerable influence in Right-Bank Ukraine in the first half of nineteenth century. Some Ukrainians believed that the most realistic path to autonomy was a general Russian-Polish settlement. Although such an accord was a remote prospect in the 1840s, it certainly seemed less utopian than autonomy attained by Ukrainian effort alone.

Apart from Ukrainian aspirations, a Slavic political union was a possible solution to Russian-Polish political antagonism. Indeed, revolutionary Panslavism in Ukraine antedates Ukrainian political strivings, for it had been a part of the political agenda of the Society of United Slavs, which merged with the Decembrist Southern Society in 1825.<sup>2</sup> Its members had envisaged a Panslavic republican federation but had not considered Ukrainians a separate Slavic nation and had not seen Ukraine as a constituent member of the federation. However, in the succeeding decades the idea of a Panslavic federation became very prominent among Ukrainian political activists. It was a dominant idea in the Ukrainian movement in 1840s, and it continued to draw support until the 1870s. There were also other orientations within the national movement: the striving for autonomy without Panslavism, the struggle for complete independence, and the path of accommodation with the Russian state by reducing Ukrainian demands to the cultural sphere. Here I shall deal with Ukrainian Panslavism in the Russian Empire.

The Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood was denounced to the authorities in February 1847.<sup>3</sup> According to the official report on the

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nian *Historical Writing from the Earliest Times to 1914* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992), 88–103; Andrzej Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 67–74.

2. Anatole G. Mazour, *The First Russian Revolution, 1825: The Decembrist Movement, Its Origins, Development, and Significance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), 142–50; George S.N. Luckyj, *Young Ukraine: The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Kiev, 1845–1847* (Ottawa and Paris: University of Ottawa Press, 1991), 5–9; Militsa Vasilevna Nechkina, *Obshchestvo soedinennykh slavian* (Moscow and Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1927), 26–8, 104–11; and Marc Raeff, *The Decembrist Movement* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966), 8–9, 157–61.

3. For the Brotherhood in general, see Pavlo S. Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 3 vols. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1990); Luckyj, *Young Ukraine*; Mykhailo

investigation, the Brotherhood was active for only a few months, from the end of 1845 to the beginning of 1846, and consisted of only three full members; the other seven detainees were merely associated with them. Its aim, according to the report, was to unite all Slavs under the rule of the Russian emperor and the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church.<sup>4</sup> Petr Zaionchkovsky came to the conclusion that the authorities indeed fully understood the subversive character of the Society, but preferred to minimize it.<sup>5</sup> The published documents of the investigation confirm his conclusion. The Society's real scope remains undetermined, but it is clear that more than the ten punished persons knew about it and participated in its discussions. The Society's goal was a Panslavic republican federation. Its religious ideas were far from acceptable to the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church. As researchers have often noted, the Society's key programmatic documents reveal a strong influence of Polish messianism.<sup>6</sup> But its members differed from Polish nationalists on many important points and were often critical of them.

The document titled "Zakon bozhyi" (Divine Law) or "Knyhy bytiia ukrainskoho narodu" (Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People),

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Vozniak, *Kyrylo-Metodiivske bratstvo* (Lviv: Fond "Uchitiesia, braty moi," 1921); and Petr Andreevich Zaionchkovsky, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo, 1846–1847* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1959). Although "brotherhood" is the accepted term in Ukrainian research, it does not appear in the group's programmatic documents. In the draft charter the name was "Slavic Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius." See the charter and a photograph of the manuscript in Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 1: 150–2. Mykola Kostomarov states that "we planned to name the society the Society of SS. Cyril and Methodius" (*Avtobiografiia* [Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1992], 132). Vozniak emphasizes that Shevchenko used the term "brotherhood" in his letter to Kostomarov in February 1847 (*Kyrylo-Metodiivske bratstvo*, 79). "Brotherhood" was used by the Kyivan Pole Juljan Bielina Kędrzycki in his memoirs ("Iz zapisok," in *T.G. Shevchenko v vospominaniakh sovremennikov* [Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1962], 171; first published in *Gazeta Lwowska*, 1918). However, Marcelli Handelsman questioned the authenticity of this document (*Ukrainska polityka ks. Adama Czartoryskiego przed wojną Krymska: Rozwój narodowości nowoczesnej* [Warsaw: Ukrainyskyi naukovyi instytut, 1937], 3: 17), and I share his doubts, since Kostomarov's position as described in Kędrzycki's memoirs evidently contradicts the confiscated documents. The group probably planned to use "Slavic Society" as its formal name, while Shevchenko used the more poetic "brotherhood."

4. Aleksei Orlov's report to Nicholas I, in *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, ed. Sokhan et al., 1: 64. Excerpts from the report are translated in Luckyj, *Young Ukraine*, 106–10.

5. Zaionchkovsky, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo*, 127–8.

6. Luckyj, *Young Ukraine*, 49–51.



written in both Ukrainian and Russian, was a creative re-interpretation of the ideas found in Adam Mickiewicz's *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (Books of the Polish People and Polish Pilgrimage).<sup>7</sup> It is often assumed that the author of "Zakon bozhyi" was the historian Mykola Kostomarov, although the text was shaped in discussions with other members.<sup>8</sup> Like Mickiewicz, the Ukrainian conspirators saw political questions in religious terms and identified Christianity with political liberty and social equality at least in the sense of abolishing estate privileges. Both texts include the crucifixion of the Christ-nation, Polish or Ukrainian as the case may be, which leads to a second resurrection and a complete regeneration of social life around the world. However, the Ukrainian document differs from the Polish one in a number of important respects; one of them is Panslavism. According to Mickiewicz, only Poland has a special role in the divine plan to save the world, while according to "Zakon bozhyi," divine grace passes through different nations or groups of nations until it reaches the Slavs. Christ brought divine grace to all nations, "Zakon bozhyi" says, but some embraced it more fully than others: the Roman tribe (Italians, French, and Spaniards) received the faith more fully than the Greeks (Byzantines), the Germanic nations more fully than the Roman ones, and the Slavic nations even more fully. Because of the discord among them and their departure from their original egalitarian social order, God punished the Slavs by subjecting them to foreign rule, but only temporarily. Three independent Slavic states have already emerged: Poland, Lithuania, which included Ukraine, and Muscovy. The Poles promised liberty and equality but imposed the harshest slavery on the common people. Muscovy fell into idolatry by calling the tsar god. The Cossacks tried to establish a free, egalitarian society

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7. The two versions of "Zakon bozhyi" are in *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 1: 152–69, 250–8. The first was found by the authorities among Mykola Hulak's papers; the second, among Mykola Kostomarov's papers. Luckyj translated the Hulak version of "Zakon bozhyi" (*Young Ukraine*, 88–99). The document is discussed by Luckyj, 47–51; Vozniak, *Kyrylo-Metodiivske bratstvo*, 97–136; and Zaionchovsky, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo*, 7–12, 79–82, 90–2. Dmitrii Bibikov, the governor general of Kyiv, was first to notice its resemblance to Mickiewicz's text (Bibikov to Aleksei Orlov, 3 May 1847, in *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, ed. Sokhan et al., 1: 44).

8. Luckyj, *Young Ukraine*, 47, 49–50; Iurii Anatolevych Pinchuk, *Mykola Ivanovych Kostomarov, 1817–1885* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1992), 71–2; Thomas M. Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov: A Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 45–7; and Zaionchovsky, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo*, 14–21.



in Ukraine, but the Polish lords intervened. Hence Ukraine broke with Poland and joined Muscovy in a voluntary union like the previous one with Poland. But Muscovy enslaved Ukraine and divided it with Poland. Still Ukraine will rise again and attain freedom within a Slavic union.

The textual differences between the two versions of "Zakon bozhyi" suggest that there were some important differences of opinion within the Brotherhood. In Hulak's version the Roman tribes received the faith more fully than the Greeks,<sup>9</sup> while in Kostomarov's version they merely could have received it more fully but failed to do so because they retained monarchic rule and invented papal prerogatives.<sup>10</sup> According to Hulak's version, the union of Ukraine and Poland is a prefiguration of the future union of all the Slavic peoples,<sup>11</sup> just as the Polish-Lithuanian union is a prefiguration of the union of all Christian nations in Mickiewicz. Kostomarov's version evaluates the Ukrainian-Polish union positively but does not treat it as a precursor of some future association. However, the later Ukrainian-Muscovite union appears as a prefiguration of the future Panslavic union in both versions. According to Hulak's, but not Kostomarov's, version, the egalitarian order was to spread from Cossack Ukraine first to Poland and then to all other Slavic countries.<sup>12</sup> Hulak's version holds the Polish lords and the Muscovite tsar responsible for partitioning Ukraine in the seventeenth century, while Kostomarov's version speaks of Poles and Muscovites in general.<sup>13</sup> Only Hulak's version predicts that Ukraine will awaken Poland and will love Poland as if there had never been any problems between them.<sup>14</sup> Only Kostomarov's version says that the Decembrists deserved their fate because they did not know that their ideals came from Ukraine.<sup>15</sup> In Hulak's version the final prophecy of the all-Slavic awakening inspired by Ukraine includes a long list of titles and estates that will be abolished.<sup>16</sup> There is no such list in Kostomarov's version. These differences indicate that the controversial subjects among the circle's members were the relation of Ukraine to

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9. Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiïvske tovarystvo*, 1: 160.

10. *Ibid.*, 255.

11. *Ibid.*, 164.

12. *Ibid.*, 165.

13. *Ibid.*, 167, 257.

14. *Ibid.*, 168.

15. *Ibid.*, 258.

16. *Ibid.*, 169.

Poland and the degree of political and social radicalism. Hulak's version contains a slightly stronger emphasis on the Ukrainian-Polish union and their fraternity in the future than Kostomarov's. The rejection of class differences and the Russian tsar is also somewhat stronger in Hulak's version.

The proclamation "Braty ukraintsi!" (Ukrainian Brothers!), written by Kostomarov,<sup>17</sup> and the draft charter of the Society, written either by Hulak or Vasyl Bilozersky, elaborated on the character of the prospective Panslavic union. Kostomarov listed the constituent nations and states: the Muscovites, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes (*khорutany*), Illyro-Serbians, and Bulgarians.<sup>18</sup> The charter added the Belarusians and the Sorbs (*luzhichany*) to the list and joined the "Northern Russians" and Belarusians, the Czechs and the Slovaks, and the Illyro-Serbians and Slovenes in binational states.<sup>19</sup> Thus, Kostomarov distinguished three different nationalities among the Southern Slavs, although at the time the Southern Slavs were often counted as only one and sometimes as two nationalities or languages—Ilyrian and Bulgarian.<sup>20</sup> The tendency to distinguish more South Slavic nations may reflect the precarious position of the Ukrainian nationality, which was a project rather than a recognised reality at the time. According to the charter and the proclamation, the whole federation would have a parliament of national representatives. Each state in the federation would have its own democratic government and official language. The Brotherhood promised to promote religious understanding among the Christian churches. Under interrogation, Kostomarov explained that the aim had been to introduce Orthodoxy "or at least the Cyrillic liturgy" to all Slavdom.<sup>21</sup> Although this statement

17. Ibid., 170, 172; and Luckyj, *Young Ukraine*, 51, 100.

18. Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 1: 170; Luckyj, *Young Ukraine*, 51; and Vozniak, *Kyrylo-Metodiivske bratstvo*, 85–6.

19. Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 1: 150–2; Luckyj, *Young Ukraine*, 85–7; Vozniak, *Kyrylo-Metodiivske bratstvo*, 81–2, 84–5; and Zaionchkovsky, *Kirillo-Mefodievskoe obshchestvo*, 85.

20. Hans Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), 11, 58–64; and Paul Joseph Schafarik, *Slavische Alterthümer* (Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, 1843–44), 2: 49–50. Although he divided the Illyrians further into Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, he called them "tribes," giving them a status equal to that of Great Russians, Little Russians, and Belarusians within the Russian branch (*Abtheilung*) of the Slavs. Among the Slovenes and the Serbs there was already support for a separate nationality.

21. Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 1: 296.

distinguishes the Cyrillic liturgy from the Orthodox Church, it hardly indicates any sympathy for Greek Catholicism. That would have contradicted the criticism of the Roman Catholic Church in "Zakon bozhyi." The conspirators probably envisaged a union of churches that would have renovated all of them, including the Orthodox Church.

Among the documents uncovered by the authorities was Mykola Hulak's unfinished manuscript *Iuridicheskii byt pomorskikh slavian* (The Judicial Order of the Pomeranian Slavs), which casts some additional light on the perception of the Slavic character in the Society.<sup>22</sup> The ancient Pomeranian society, Hulak found, was rather egalitarian: even prisoners of war were accepted into the community with only some restriction of rights. Women had the same rights as men; they could even be elected to the princely office. Hulak claimed that women's equality or at least extensive rights for women is traditional among Slavs and consistent with the Slavic character. Hulak's ideas on private property and the importance of law in ancient Slavic societies differed from those of the Russian Slavophiles and Mickiewicz: as agricultural people the ancient Slavs had a fully developed concept and institution of private land ownership. It was based on the idea that everyone had a right to the land he had brought under cultivation. This resembles John Locke's idea of private property. Hulak did not elaborate on the relation of Slavic laws to Roman law, but in any case he found law and an orderly judicial system to be rooted in the national character. He also emphasized the importance of cities among ancient Slavic communities, thus departing from the emphasis on the peasant way of life, which was typical of early Ukrainian populism. To Hulak cities were essentially centres of democratic political decision making: citizen assemblies elected and dismissed princes.

The whole system of state government among the Slavs developed from two principles: the patriarchal and the democratic principle. From the patriarchal principle emerged hereditary princely power; from the democratic, the communal system and federative unions of republics that exist among us in the appanage period, in Pomerania, and perhaps on the Adriatic Sea. At their foundation these two ideas do not contradict each other, and the Slavic communities that conditions allowed to develop in the natural tribal direction were a harmonious fusion of both principles. However, a struggle between these two principles was unavoidable. The internal history of the Slavs is nothing

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22. Ibid., 107–29.

but this struggle. Soon one principle prevailed over the other. From the democratic principle emerged anarchy, as in Poland, Little Russia (in the seventeenth century), and even in Bohemia; from the patriarchal principle—despotism.<sup>23</sup>

Hulak's ancient Slavic communities had private property, respect for law, female equality, and elected political leaders. His version of Slavophilism differed from its contemporary Russian counterpart by its radical tone.

The members of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood were familiar with the Slavophile ideas circulating in Russia and among the Western Slavs. Bilozersky was enthusiastic about Petr Dubrovsky's "Slavianskie dela" (Slavic Affairs), a series of articles that appeared in Mikhail Pogodin's journal *Moskvitianin* in 1846.<sup>24</sup> The work described the cultural activities of all the Slavic nations and the cooperation among them. Kostomarov's poem "Dity slavy" (Children of Glory) granted a special, although not an exclusive, role to Russia in establishing the Panslavic federation:

Love each other, children of glory  
Love saves us!  
Glory, honour to you forever,  
Our double-headed eagle!

For with your talons  
You will snatch us from slavery  
From long humiliation you will bring to light  
The Slavic fortune!<sup>25</sup>

On the whole, however, the Society's West Slavic inspiration and contacts were more important than Russian ones.<sup>26</sup> Even the title of Kostomarov's poem cited above echoed the title of Ján Kollár's poetry collection *Slávy dcera* (Daughter of Glory), which Bilozersky read.<sup>27</sup> Hulak corresponded with Václav Hanka<sup>28</sup> and had in his library Pavel

23. Ibid., 128.

24. Bilozersky to Hulak, September–October 1846, *ibid.*, 100.

25. Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 1: 271.

26. For a discussion of the Western influence, see Luckyj, *Young Ukraine*, 31–2, 49–50; and Vozniak, *Kyrylo-Metodiivske bratstvo*, 33–9, 41–2, 72–3.

27. *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 1: 100.

28. Ibid., 93–4.

Šafařík's *Slowanské starožitnosti* (Slavic Antiquities).<sup>29</sup> For his history of Slavic law he referred to the works of the Polish scholars Wacław Maciejowski<sup>30</sup> and Andrzej Kucharski,<sup>31</sup> who were Slavophiles loyal to the Russian Empire.<sup>32</sup> Under interrogation Kostomarov denied his authorship of "Zakon bozhyi" and mentioned that its contents resembled the ideas of Mickiewicz, Joachim Lelewel, and Ignacy Daniłowicz, "our secret enemy."<sup>33</sup> Lelewel's theory of ancient Slavic democracy and his emphasis on the voluntary nature of the Polish-Lithuanian union are indeed close to the ideas of the Society's members. Occasionally Lelewel had even supported some kind of union between Slavic nations.<sup>34</sup> Among Kostomarov's papers was found a Czech translation of his poem "Spivets" (Singer) signed by the writer and philologist František Čelakovský, whose criticism of Russian policies in Poland had evoked official protests by Russian diplomatic representatives.<sup>35</sup> Čelakovský had published a collection of Slavic folk songs, which included Ukrainian ones. Perhaps the most telling indication of West Slavic influence on the Society was the manuscript of Shevchenko's *Kobzar* transcribed into Polish script. It too was found in Kostomarov's possession.<sup>36</sup>

Panteleimon Kulish, who was arrested in Warsaw on the way to Prague, carried letters from Nikolai Rigelman to Hanka and Ludovit Štúr. At the time Rigelman was Kostomarov's friend and possibly a peripheral

29. Ibid., 214. Taras Shevchenko dedicated his poem "Ian Hus" to Šafařík.

30. Ibid., 94, 104, 208.

31. Ibid., 104, 216.

32. *Polski słownik biograficzny* (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1937), 16: 46–7; 19: 71–4.

33. Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 1: 300. Kostomarov added that Michał Czajkowski and [Józef Bogdan] Zalesski also expressed Ukrainian tendencies. Daniłowicz was a historian of law (d. 1843) and worked at Kharkiv, Kyiv, and Moscow Universities after the closing of Vilnius University. He researched the Lithuanian code, which was abolished in Ukraine in 1840 (*Polski słownik biograficzny*, 4: 412–14). Vozniak mentions also a retired professor Zenowicz, Kostomarov's Kyivan acquaintance, as a Panslav (*Kyrylo-Metodiivske bratstvo*, 72–3).

34. Leszek Kuk, *Orientacja słowiańska w myśli politycznej Wielkiej Emigracji (do wybuchu wojny krymskiej): Geneza, uwarunkowania, podstawowe koncepcje* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1996), 102.

35. Bibikov to Orlov, 13 May 1847, in *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, ed. Sokhan et al., 1: 302; and *Lexicon České Literatury. Osobnosti, díla, instituce* (Prague: Academia, 1985), 1: 424–30.

36. Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 1: 249.



member of the Brotherhood.<sup>37</sup> In his notebook Kulish even had instructions how to find Mickiewicz in Paris, and they clearly indicate that he had not yet made an appointment with the poet.<sup>38</sup>

Apart from the Decembrist tradition, the Ukrainian conspirators could have borrowed the idea of a Pan Slavic federation from Polish political thought and the French Slavic scholar Cyprien Robert. Bilozersky had copied a lengthy excerpt from Robert's article on Pan Slavicism, which proposed a federation in which each Slavic nation would retain its distinctive character. Robert had a high opinion of the Ruthenian language, which he believed could become a fully developed literary language.<sup>39</sup> In his other writings Robert, who cooperated closely with the constitutional monarchist camp of Polish émigrés, proposed an independent federal, not unitary, Polish state.<sup>40</sup> The leader of the constitutional monarchists, Adam Czartoryski, had first proposed a Slavic federation to Alexander I.<sup>41</sup> The idea of a Slavic union to overthrow Russian autocracy had circulated among Polish émigrés in France since the 1830s. In 1834 Petr Adolf Semenenko proposed an original plan of a Pan Slavic union centered on the Rusins (Polish name for Ukrainians and Belarusians).<sup>42</sup> Semenenko differed from the Ukrainian Pan Slavs in predicting a common Slavic nationality, whereas the latter emphasized the distinctiveness of the Slavic nations.

The Kyivan conspirators also adopted much from Mickiewicz's messianism in its later, Slavophile version, which was presented in his lectures on Slavic literature at Collège de France in 1840–44. Mickiewicz devoted much attention to the Slavs and predicted a great future for them. But there are important differences between his lectures and their Ukrainian adaptation. While both Mickiewicz and the Society's members thought of the future political upheaval as divinely inspired, the mysticism of the Ukrainians was less radical than Mickiewicz's. In the Society

37. The letters are in *ibid.*, 2: 27–8, 41–2; and the relevant investigation documents are in *ibid.*, 3: 153–62.

38. *Ibid.*, 2: 34.

39. *Ibid.*, 1: 374–7, 379; Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka ks. Adama Czartoryskiego*, 26–7; and Vozniak, *Kyrylo-Metodiivske bratstvo*, 189.

40. Kuk, *Orientacja słowiańska*, 123–4.

41. Jerzy Skowronek, *Adam Jerzy Czartoryski 1770–1861* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1994), 74–82.

42. Kuk, *Orientacja słowiańska*, 106, 122.

an element of political sobriety can be discerned under the messianic surface. The Polish poet did not place much value on elections and constitutions but looked forward to the appearance of a divinely inspired leader who would unite France and the whole Slavic world.<sup>43</sup> He was vague on the concrete nature of the future union. While he admitted that the Great Russians were Slavs, he emphasized what he perceived as their Mongolian-Finnish traits, which inclined them to despotic rule, violence, and cultural sterility.<sup>44</sup> The Kyivan conspirators, by contrast, took representative democracy seriously and favoured a republican political system based on universal (probably only male) suffrage. Their political plans were concrete, and they included the Great Russians among the Slavic nations without qualification. In his notes to the Society's draft charter Bilozersky argued for a Panslavic federation on the basis of practical political considerations. After admitting that Ukrainians faced the threat of complete assimilation with the Russians, he called for political measures to counteract this threat and stated: "Besides, it is clear that its [Ukraine's] separate existence is impossible. It will fall between a numbers of fires, will be oppressed, and may suffer a fate worse than that of the Poles. The only means of regaining the rights of the people, means that are acceptable to the mind and the heart, consist in the union of all Slavic tribes into one family, while preserving law, charity, and the liberty of each."<sup>45</sup>

Thus, according to Bilozersky, a Panslavic federation was a necessary condition for attaining Ukrainian statehood.<sup>46</sup> His approach is consistent with Heorhii Andruzky's testimony under interrogation. Andruzky said that some members of the Society proposed to re-establish the Hetmanate as a fully independent state, if possible, and if this proved impossible, as part of a Slavic union.<sup>47</sup> The Russian minister of public enlightenment, Sergei Uvarov, wrote that Panslavism was only a kind of facade for the

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43. Adam Mickiewicz, *Dzieła*, 25 vols. (Warsaw: Spółdzielnia wydawnicza Czytelnik, 1955), 10: 419–21; 11: 14–15, 209, 345–51, 427–8.

44. *Ibid.*, 8: 301–3, 310–19; 10: 86–8, 152–4, 228–32.

45. The translation is mine. For the Russian original, see Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 1: 392.

46. Zaionchkovsky, *Kirillo-Mefodiievskoe obshchestvo*, 90.

47. Andruzky's testimony, 14 April 1847, in *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, ed. Sokhan et al., 2: 501. Luckyj emphasizes the importance of this statement (*Young Ukraine*, 62). See also Vozniak, *Kyrylo-Metodiivske bratstvo*, 169.

Brotherhood's members, who really dreamt only of Ukrainian national goals.<sup>48</sup> Uvarov oversimplified the case somewhat, for different members saw the relation between their Panslavic and their Ukrainian national goals differently. According to Andruzky, Kostomarov and Hulak were Panslavs, while Shevchenko, Kulish, and Ivan Posiada saw Ukrainian statehood as the most important goal. Opanas Markovych, Oleksander Navrotsky, Bilozersky, and Dmytro Pylchykov gave equal weight to Panslavic and Ukrainian goals.<sup>49</sup> Andruzky's testimony is essentially correct. Panslavic ideals appear only briefly in Shevchenko's poetry, which is very critical of the Great Russians and Poles. On the other hand, Hulak and Kostomarov, who studied the history and culture of other Slavic nations, were committed primarily to Panslavic ideals.

At the beginning of Aleksander II's reign new opportunities opened up for the Ukrainian national movement. In the early 1860s Ukrainian hromadas sprang up in St. Petersburg, Kyiv, Poltava, Chernihiv, and Kharkiv. The Ukrainian movement now counted not dozens but up to three hundred more or less active adherents. In this period, although Panslavic ideas could be found among Ukrainian activists, they were less prominent than in the 1840s. This was mainly because of the conflict between the Russian Empire and the Polish patriots, which finally led to the Polish insurrection of 1863–64. The Polish demand to return to pre-partition borders made Ukrainian-Polish cooperation difficult. On the other hand, the Ukrainian movement encountered much hostility in both official and unofficial Russian circles. It even had to defend its right to exist. The situation was not conducive to Panslavic or even Slavophile ideas. The Ukrainian journal *Osnova*, which appeared in St. Petersburg from 1861 to 1862, contained many polemical articles defending the existence of the Ukrainian (South Russian) nationality against Polish, Great Russian, and pan-Russian claims. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian camp put forth at least two Panslavic proposals.

The more famous of the projects was Kostomarov's. In January 1860 Aleksander Herzen's *Kolokol* published an anonymous article written by Kostomarov titled "Ukraina." It pointed out that before Lithuanian rule Ukraine had federal ties with Northern Russia. The conflict between the

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48. Johannes Remy, *Higher Education and National Identity: Polish Student Activism in Russia 1832–1863* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2002), 175–6.

49. Sokhan et al., eds., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivske tovarystvo*, 2: 501.

Cossacks and the Polish aristocracy reflected in part the democratic aspirations of the Ukrainian national spirit. Although the Cossacks accepted Tsar Aleksei I's rule, he was ready to return their lands to Poland in exchange for the Polish crown. When the Cossacks learned of these plans, they concluded the Treaty of Hadiach with Poland, which guaranteed Ukraine as the Grand Duchy of Rus' the status of an independent state federated with Poland and the Lithuanian-Rus' state. Since Muscovy was expected to join the union, the treaty could have led to the first grand Slavic federation. However, both Poland and Muscovy betrayed Ukraine. Echoing Mickiewicz's assessment of the partition of Poland, Kostomarov called the partition of Ukraine "a satanic act." The Ukrainian nation again fell into slavery and was dying "under the Muscovite bayonet and the St. Petersburg knout" until it began to reawaken along with all the Slavic nations. Kostomarov noted a positive change under Aleksander II and presented a short-term reform program, which consisted of the abolition of estate privileges, permission to promote the development of the Ukrainian language, and elementary education in Ukrainian. Nobody thought of separating Southern Rus' from the rest of Russia. On the contrary, it was best for all Slavs to unite with Russia in a federation, even under the Russian emperor, "if only that emperor becomes the lord of free nations and not of Tatar-German Muscovy (*moskovshschina*), which devours everything."<sup>50</sup> Thus, Kostomarov revived the idea of a Russia-centred Panslavic union, which he had expressed previously in "Dity slavy." He renounced his hostility to the Russian monarchy, which is evident in "Zakon bozhyi," and recognized the possibility of a Panslavic union headed by the Russian emperor.<sup>51</sup> Still, his recognition of the tsar was conditional: the monarchy had to be constitutional, since there could be no federation without a constitution.

Panslavic ideas can also be found in some of Kostomarov's historical writings in the 1860s, but they are overshadowed by the idea of a federal Russia. In an article on the federative principle in ancient Rus', he claimed that the main cause of both centripetal and centrifugal tendencies in Russian history were the national differences and similarities among the various parts of Rus'. What united the different Rus' nationalities were

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50. [Nikolai Kostomarov], "Ukraina," *Kolokol*, 15 January 1860, 503.

51. If the memoirs of the Kyivan Pole Juljan Bielina Kędrzycki are genuine, Kostomarov toyed with this idea as early as the 1840s (Luckyj, *Young Ukraine*, 38–9).

common ancestry, customs, language, dynasty, and the Orthodox faith. The customs common to all Rus', Kostomarov emphasized, were shared by all the other Slavic nations as well. It was especially important that all the Slavs based their political system on freedom and democratic decision making by the popular assembly (*veche*). He acknowledged that linguistically the Eastern Slavs were closer to each other than to the other Slavs and thought that language accounted for the greater sense of unity among the members of Rus', for even the Galicians were linguistically closer than the Bulgarians or the Poles to the Great Russians. In turn, various subgroups of the Southern Russians, despite all their differences, felt closer to each other than to the Great Russians.<sup>52</sup>

Although in this article Kostomarov claimed that an all-Russian federation was a more viable goal than a Panslavic federation, he did not always maintain this. Sometimes he toyed with the idea of a Ukrainian-Polish union. In an article published only two months later, Kostomarov claimed that, although linguistically the Poles were more distant than the Great Russians from the Southern Russians, by their national character they were closer to the Southern Russians.<sup>53</sup> This statement was accompanied by a rather negative analysis of the Great Russian national character, which included traits such as the inclination to violent annexations, the subjugation of the individual to the community, and the lack of genuine religiosity and artistic creativity. In his description of the Great Russian character Kostomarov followed closely Mickiewicz's lectures on Slavic literature, except that Kostomarov did not explain the negative traits by Mongolian-Finnish influence. On the other hand, he admitted that the Great Russians are a practical people with organizational skills.

That same year Kostomarov gave a favourable account of plans for a Ukrainian-Polish union in the seventeenth century. He depicted the reception of Cossack representatives in the Polish Sejm in a very positive light and quoted a Polish speech that claimed that the Polish-Ukrainian union was based on the close linguistic and blood relations between the two nations and expressed the hope that Muscovy too would join the union:

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52. Nikolai Kostomarov, "Mysli o federativnom nachale v drevnei Rusi," *Osnova*, 1861, no. 1: 121–58; cf. Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov*, 104–5.

53. Nikolai Kostomarov, "Dve russkie narodnosti," *Osnova*, 1861, no. 3: 77. Aleksei Miller mentions this statement in his *Ukrainskii vopros v politike vlastei i russkom obshchestvennom mnenii (vtoraia polovina XIX v.)* (St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2000), 83.



Cossack freedom cannot be guaranteed without a union with us.... Peace with the Cossacks should not lead to enmity between us and Muscovy. On the contrary, we unite with the Cossacks with the aim of also making peace with Muscovy afterwards. Cossacks, too, desire to live in unity with Muscovy.... It is necessary to tell the Muscovite government that our settlement with the Cossacks is not detrimental to it; we must humbly show it that Christian states should not seize by force of arms that which can be attained by agreement.... And we are of one tribe, and the difference in language between us is not great.... Muscovy will not continue the war: it will obtain everything without arms, honestly and peacefully, with profit for itself and for our nation. Our agreement with the Cossacks will show Muscovy our strength, and it will have to accept our conditions.<sup>54</sup>

The union was to have consisted of four states: Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Muscovy.

The timing of Kostomarov's statements gave them political weight. His arguments for a Ukrainian-Polish rapprochement came out in spring and summer 1861, when there was a great upsurge in the Polish national movement. In February and April 1861 Russian troops had shot and killed some demonstrators in Warsaw, and for a few weeks the government's hold on the Polish capital was tenuous. In March Kostomarov participated in a Polish memorial mass for the killed demonstrators, which was held in St. Petersburg. The mass was arranged by local Polish students as a patriotic demonstration. Kostomarov could not have been ignorant of this, for an announcement about the mass had been made at Shevchenko's funeral. Although in his memoirs he tried to explain his attendance by non-political reasons, the mass was a political action and was noted as such in *Kolokol*.<sup>55</sup>

The second proposal for a Panslavic federation was made by a little-known Ukrainian activist who had just graduated from Kharkiv University, Andrii Shymanov, in a paper he read to the Kharkiv hromada in late 1861 or early 1862. According to Shymanov, this was the age of the decline of established empires and the rise of national states. The basic cause of this change was the development of the independent individual, who until now had appeared only in the higher classes of society. Russian autocracy had fulfilled an important task in giving rise to a unified

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54. Nikolai Kostomarov, "Getmanstvo Vygovskogo," *Osnova*, 1861, no. 7: 101.

55. "Peterburgskii universitet," *Kolokol*, 1 July 1861, 856-7.

intelligentsia but had now outlived its usefulness. The intelligentsia was overcoming its isolation and bridging the cultural gap between itself and the people. Since there was no cultural unity among the people, the various regions of the empire would develop naturally in different directions. The Ukrainian movement could only succeed, Shymanov asserted, if it relied on the common people, but the Ukrainian people lacked any idea of independence and even a common national identity. The movement could find an appropriate final goal only by interacting with the people. Shymanov predicted that a Panslavic federation might become the final goal but did not explain how he arrived at this conclusion. He could have inferred this from the Ukrainian movement's tactical necessity to cooperate with the Russian radicals in order to bring about political change in the empire. The most formidable obstacle to such a union was the "horrible all-Russian monster, autocracy." The Panslavic union was a revolutionary aim, and Shymanov was sceptical about the benefits of violent political upheaval. The union would be attained only in the distant future. For the near future he proposed to cultivate Ukrainian national consciousness and to counteract Muscovite and Polish cultural influence among the common people without explicit political agitation.<sup>56</sup>

Kostomarov and Shymanov were the only Ukrainian activists to articulate Panslavic ideas in the early 1860s, but others expressed vague Slavic sympathies. Shevchenko's "Ian Hus" with its dedication to Šafařík was published in the first issue of *Osnova*.<sup>57</sup> At his funeral in February 1861, Shevchenko was presented as an all-Slavic poet. In his funeral speech Panteleimon Kulish claimed that Shevchenko, who died in St. Petersburg, did not die in a foreign country, for in the Slavic world no country was foreign to him.<sup>58</sup> Pavlo Chubynsky called Shevchenko's death "one more loss to the Slavic world."<sup>59</sup> Władysław Choroszewski,

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56. Mykhailo Hnip, ed., "Do istorii hromadskoho rukhu 1860 rr. (Zapyska A.A. Shymanova)," in *Za sto lit: Materiialy z hromadskoho i literaturnoho zhyttia Ukrainy XIX i pochatkiv XX stolittia* (Kharkiv and Kyiv: Istorychna sektsiia Vseukrainskoi akademii nauk, 1930), 5: 170–82. See also my "The Ukrainophile Intelligentsia and Its Relation to the Russian Empire in the Beginning of the Reign of Alexander II (1856–1863)," in *Imperial and National Identities in Pre-Revolutionary, Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*, ed. C. Chulos and J. Remy (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2002), 193–4.

57. *Osnova*, 1861, no. 1: 2–4.

58. "Slova nad hrobom Shevchenka," *Osnova*, 1861, no. 3: 5–6.

59. *Ibid.*, 15.

a Polish student of St. Petersburg University, admitted that Shevchenko's antipathy to the Poles was justified by their historic mistakes and called for Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation.<sup>60</sup> In July 1862 *Osnova* reprinted *Sovremennoe slovo*'s appeal for financial assistance for the people of Montenegro in their struggle against Turkey.<sup>61</sup> On the whole, however, the theme of Slavic unity was much less prominent in *Osnova* than the polemic against Great Russian and Polish claims to Ukraine.

In July 1863 the minister of the interior, Petr Valuev, issued a circular banning all Ukrainian-language publications directed at the common people.<sup>62</sup> For the rest of the decade the Ukrainian movement declined. It revived at the beginning of the 1870s, when the enforcement of Valuev's circular weakened, although the policy was not repealed. Now the most prominent representative of the Panslavic trend within the movement was Mykhailo Drahomanov, a lecturer on classical antiquity at St. Vladimir University in Kyiv.<sup>63</sup> A reformist and moderate, he tried for a long time to avoid a complete break with the Russian government. Until his emigration in 1876, Drahomanov's Panslavic hopes were centred not on Ukraine but on Russia.<sup>64</sup> His identification with Ukraine did not exclude allegiance to a larger Russia and even to the Russian Empire in some sense. As in Kostomarov's case, this allegiance was conditional on Russia's evolution into a constitutional monarchy. Ukrainian national demands, Drahomanov believed, could be met in a Russia in which each nationality was allowed to develop freely. His attitude to Russia was much more positive than Kostomarov's, but for Drahomanov Russia represented political radicalism and philosophical materialism, which he considered valuable for humanity.

In 1872 Drahomanov published an article on Germany's eastern policy and Russification in the St. Petersburg journal *Vestnik Evropy*.<sup>65</sup> The article argued that the conflict of interests between the Slavs and the

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60. Ibid., 9.

61. "Napominanie o podvizhnikakh chernogortsakh," *Osnova*, 1862, no. 7: 20–3.

62. The circular is printed in full in Miller, *Ukrainskii vopros*, 240–1.

63. For Drahomanov in general, see Anatolii Kruhlov, *Drama intelektualna: Politichni idei Mykhaila Drahomanova* (Chernivtsi: Prut, 2000).

64. Kruhlov shows that Drahomanov's ideas gradually evolved from Russian liberalism and Panslavism to Ukrainian nationalism (*Drama intelektualna*, 257–91).

65. M.P. Dragomanov: "Vostochnaia politika Germanii i obrussenie," in *Politicheskie sochineniia* (Moscow: Tipografiia I.D. Sytina, 1908).

Germans in Europe required Russia to change its nationality policy. For Drahomanov the rivalry between Russia and the German and Austrian Empires was a contest between the Slavic and the German states. Because of the larger German-Slavic opposition, the smaller Slavic nations could serve as Russia's allies in a future conflict. From a Slavic viewpoint Austria's expansion into Turkish territory was not desirable, for it would mean an increase in German hegemony. Even if the Austrian Empire disintegrated, ethnic Germans would not voluntarily abandon Slavic territories. A German-Russian conflict over the Kingdom of Poland was also possible. Russia would be able to defend itself from German aggression and perhaps even expand, if it prepared itself properly for the coming conflict. To do so the Russian government had to introduce a number of reforms: first, it had to recognize all the languages in the empire as equal; secondly, it had to dissociate Russian national identity from the Orthodox faith and abolish all religious discrimination; and thirdly, it had to establish constitutional rule. These measures, according to Drahomanov, would win the allegiance of all ethnic minorities to the empire.

Strictly speaking, Drahomanov's reform program was not Panslavic for it applied not only to, and not to all, Slavic ethnic groups in the empire. Since he defined ethnic groups by their common people, his language policy would have applied to Poles within the Kingdom of Poland, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, and Finns, but not to Baltic Germans or Poles outside the Kingdom of Poland. In regions where the German, Polish, and Swedish languages represented only the upper class, they would be replaced partly by Russian and partly by the languages of the local common people. Thus, the Russian language would retain its privileged status. According to Drahomanov, the reforms he urged would bring Russia's interests into line with the interests of Slavs in Germany and Austria-Hungary, which were opposed to the interests of the Germans and the Hungarians. Without these reforms Russia could not credibly champion the rights of Slavs under German and Austro-Hungarian rule. By granting greater liberty to its Slavic and non-Slavic ethnic minorities Russia would strengthen its position against the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

In 1873-74 Drahomanov published an article on Russian, Great Russian, Ukrainian, and Galician literature in the Galician journal *Pravda*.<sup>66</sup> It is evident from this article that, although he believed in

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66. Mykhailo Petrovych Drahomanov, "Literatura rosiiska, velykoruska, ukrainska i

federalism, Drahomanov was a Russian patriot.<sup>67</sup> He argued for the widespread use of Russian in Ukraine on the grounds that it was impossible, at least in the near future, to create a Ukrainian high culture comparable to the Russian culture. Galicians could use their own language for the enlightenment of the common people and the discussion of purely local subjects, but for other subjects Galicians should adopt Russian. The Russian literary language, Drahomanov declared, was the language not only of Great Russians but also of Ukrainians, for Ukrainians had participated in its development, and it was written and spoken in Russian-ruled Ukraine. Furthermore, Drahomanov regarded Russian as the most important Slavic language. Galicians should prefer Russian to German because Russian was closer to the Slavs, and it transmitted elements of European culture that were not available in German.<sup>68</sup> In his opinion Russian writers, especially those who were democratically oriented and positivist, such as Vissarion Belinsky, Nikolai Dobroliubov, and Aleksander Herzen, had an all-European significance.<sup>69</sup> Some day Russian could become the common language of all Slavs: "It is hard to imagine ... that all Slavic languages would assimilate into Russian. However, it is not at all impossible that [the use of] the Russian language in Slavdom will increase greatly, and it may even attain the role of the international language of communication among the various Slavs and between Slavdom and other nations."<sup>70</sup>

Drahomanov expected a lofty future for Russian because he held the West Slavic literatures in low esteem. In his opinion they suffered from narrow nationalism. He thought that since 1830 Polish culture was "sick" with romanticism and aristocratism, although he noted the emergence of the Warsaw positivists with hope.<sup>71</sup> Among the Slavs only Russian literature was sufficiently cosmopolitan and only Russia had enough translations of the finest achievements of Western culture, such as the

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halytska," in his *Literaturno-publitsychni pratsi u dvokh tomakh* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1970), 1: 80–220.

67. Miller discusses Drahomanov's pro-imperial statements in this article (*Ukrainskii vopros*, 153–5), and Kruhlov emphasizes the equality of Great Russia and Ukraine in Drahomanov's thought (*Drama intelektualna*, 260–3).

68. Drahomanov, "Literatura rosiiska," 201–2.

69. Ibid., 133, 201.

70. Ibid., 133.

71. Ibid., 109–110, 136–7



works of John Stuart Mill, Charles Darwin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and Louis Blanc.<sup>72</sup>

In his discussion of Kostomarov's ideas Drahomanov dropped hints about the future democratic union of the Slavic nations, although he also stated that he accepted the existing borders.<sup>73</sup> He was optimistic about political reform in Russia. He praised Aleksander Herzen for his democratic and revolutionary synthesis of the ideas of the Slavophiles and the Westernizers, claiming that Shevchenko had contributed to it. Drahomanov noted that the idea that Russia's power lay in its peasantry and popular democracy (*narodopravstvo*) was gaining ground in Russian domestic politics and would soon lead to progressive and even revolutionary changes at home and support for the Slavic masses in the neighbouring states. In this process the Ukrainians could act as mediators between progressive Russian circles and the nationalists of the other Slavic nations.<sup>74</sup>

"The political interests of Russia coincide with the interests of the Slavic nations in their struggle for existence, and the government's interests coincide with the interests of the common people in the vast region from the Dnieper and the Peipus to the Elbe and the Adriatic Sea."<sup>75</sup> Russia should reshape itself into an organized union of the common people, with autonomous regions and nationalities, for centralism and the loss of nationality were not in the people's best interest. This would make Russia a leading power, although the Slavs would probably continue to be divided among three states for a long time to come. Eventually, one, two, or three Slavic unions might be established, but whatever the number might be, Russia would remain strong.<sup>76</sup>

Drahomanov emigrated to Geneva in the spring of 1876 just before his deportation was ordered in the infamous Ems Ukase, which banned all Ukrainian-language publications except belles lettres.<sup>77</sup> He still believed in Russia's all-Slavic mission, but now he openly criticized her political system. In Geneva he founded a free Ukrainian press. One of its

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72. Ibid., 110–12, 144.

73. Ibid., 181, 203.

74. Ibid., 206–11.

75. Ibid., 206.

76. Ibid., 206–10, 212, 217–20.

77. For the Ems decree, see Miller, *Ukrainskii vopros*, 242–4; and for its background and Drahomanov's departure, see *ibid.*, 173–83.

first publications was a brochure in which he supported Russia's war effort in the Balkans and demanded an elected representative body in Russia that would oversee the executive branch.<sup>78</sup> The Slavs in Russia, Drahomanov argued, needed liberation as much as the Slavs under Turkey. Russia's autocracy and her "Turkish" policies of national and religious oppression were responsible for her incapacity to defeat the Turkish Empire. Under a more democratic political system the Russian government would have been forced to concentrate its foreign policy on the task of liberating fellow Slavs. Drahomanov criticized the government for its half-measures, for refusing to support Romania's, Serbia's, and Bulgaria's independence outright, and for limiting the number of volunteer fighters to a ridiculously small number. The mistreatment of the local population by Russian troops exposed the shortcomings of the Russian political system. If despite everything the Balkan Slavs succeeded in liberating themselves from Turkey, relations between their constitutional states and autocratic Russia would be strained. Since the Slavs in Austria lived under better conditions than the Slavs in Russia, it made no sense to speak of Russia's liberation of Austrian-ruled Slavs.

By 1878 Drahomanov became fully disillusioned with the Russian government as an agent of Slavic unity.<sup>79</sup> In a special pamphlet addressing this question he emphasized that Russia had failed in its task of liberating the Balkan Slavs because of her own lack of liberty and representative institutions.<sup>80</sup> The government had been slack in its efforts: it proclaimed war much too late and devoted inadequate resources to it. This was quite understandable: a government that did not care about improving conditions for its peasantry and tried to Russify its borderlands would not protect the oppressed Slavs in the Balkans. To succeed Russia would have had to incite a revolution by the local population, and this was something an autocratic government could not do.

In his pamphlet Drahomanov moved from imperial to decentralist Panslavism. Since the Slavs could not count on the assistance of the Russian government, their only choice was to form an

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78. Mykhailo P. Drahomanov, "Turki vneshnie i vnutrennye," in his *Vybrane* (Kyiv: Lybid, 1991), 234–53. First published in Geneva in 1876.

79. Mikhail Dragomanov, *Do chego dovoevalis?* (Geneva: Georg, 1878).

80. According to Kruhlov, the outcome of the Balkan War shattered Drahomanov's harmonious Russian-Ukrainian identity (*Drama intelektualna*, 269–70).

all-Slavic radical party that would be neutral on religious matters, democratic, and federalist, that would put an end to the competition between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics, that would reject the petty political ploys of the Czech, Slovenian, and Polish feudal lords, that would put an end to the contest for land between the Poles and the Ruthenians, the Czechs and the Slovaks, and the Serbs and the Croatians, and that would establish close contacts with similar parties among non-Slavic neighbours: the Romanians, Greeks, Albanians, Italians, and, if they wished, the Germans and the Hungarians.<sup>81</sup>

For the time being, Drahomanov implied, Russia would be excluded from membership in the Panslavic democratic party that he proposed. Russia's priority would be to bring about political reform at home: to introduce an elected representative government, essential individual liberties, and the right of nationalities to develop freely.

Drahomanov was not the only Russia-centred Ukrainian Panslav. Pavlo Chubynsky believed that one of the causes of Polish-Russian antagonism was the competition for political and moral leadership in the Slavic world. In this contest Chubynsky chose the Great Russians rather than the Poles, because the Russian intelligentsia acknowledged the gap between the common people and itself as a problem and, in general, stood for social progress, while the Poles maintained their aristocratic tradition.<sup>82</sup> It remains an open question to what extent Chubynsky's position was dictated by his need to appease the Russian authorities. Kyivan Ukrainians made some attempts to cooperate with the Panslavs who were active in the Slavic committees. Hryhorii Galagan, the chairman of the Southwestern Section of the Russian Imperial Geographic Society in 1873–75, a legal association that had many Ukrainian national activists in its membership, was at the same time vice-chairman of the Slavic Welfare Committee in Kyiv.<sup>83</sup> He was not a member of the Kyiv hromada, however, but an all-Russian patriot with an open mind concerning the Ukrainian movement and language.<sup>84</sup>

81. Dragomanov, *Do chego dovoevalis?* 20.

82. P.P. Chubynsky, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v zapadno-russkii krai, snariazhennoi Imperatorskim russkim geograficheskim obshchestvom. Iugo-Zapadnyi otdel. Materialy i issledovania* (St. Petersburg, 1872), 7: 271–2.

83. Fedir Savchenko, *Zaborona ukrainstva 1876 r.*, Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, vol. 14 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970), 34.

84. Andronik Stepovych, ed., "Do Kyivo-halytskykh zviazkiv pochatku 1870-kh rokiv:

In 1875 the newspaper *Kievskii telegraf*, which was controlled by Ukrainian activists, sometimes expressed Panslavic opinions and noted with approval Slav hopes for Russia's help.<sup>85</sup> On the whole, the Slavic thematic was very prominent in the paper, which kept the public informed about national movements and events in the Slavic world. In an article about the Southern Slavs the paper criticized the Russian conservative Panslavic camp in a way that may have included a veiled criticism of Drahomanov.<sup>86</sup> The anonymous author wrote that only the nations that were at a very early stage of their national development were enthusiastic about Panslavic unity, expected aid from either the Russian government or the Russian public, and wanted to have Russian books. Slovenes were at this stage, whereas Serbs and Croats no longer needed Russian books or Panslavic ideas. The paper also criticized the Slavic Committee in Kyiv for financially supporting the Galician Russophile newspaper *Slovo*.<sup>87</sup> Drahomanov's Russia-centred Panslavism never became very popular in the Ukrainian national movement, which was mostly concerned with counteracting Russian cultural influence. Finally, the Russian government's suppression of Ukrainian publications undermined the potential appeal of Ukrainian-Russian cooperation.

The Ukrainian Panslavic orientation began as a romantic movement that borrowed many of its basic ideas from Polish political thought without supporting the political goals of the Polish national movement. This orientation continued to exist in the 1860s, when the Ukrainian movement assumed lawful, public activities within the Russian Empire. Despite the differences between the Ukraine-centred Panslavic ideals of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood and Drahomanov's Russia-centred Panslavic ideals, neither party expected the Slavs to unite with Ukraine or Russia without a radical democratic restructuring of either state. This was one important difference between the Ukrainian Panslavic orientation

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Z shchodennykiv H.P. Halahana," *Za sto lit: Materiialy z hromadskoho i literaturnoho zhyttia Ukrainy XIX i pochatkiv XX stolittia* (Kharkiv and Kyiv: Istorychna sektsiia Vseukrainskoi akademii nauk, 1930), 5: 183–91; see also Savchenko, *Zaborona ukrainstva*, 44–6.

85. "Polskii vopros u nas i v Poznani," *Kievskii telegraf*, 12 February 1875; A.B., "Kiev, 8 marta 1875 g.," *Kievskii telegraf*, 9 March 1875; and "Po slovam 'Birzhi....,'" *Kievskii telegraf*, 12 March 1875.

86. "Politicheskii i kulturnye sily iuzhnykh slavian," *Kievskii telegraf*, 7 February 1875.

87. "Spravka dlia Kievskogo otdela slavianskogo blagotvoritel'nogo komiteta," *Kievskii telegraf*, 7 February 1875.

and mainstream Russian Panslavism. Another key difference was the former's insistence that Ukraine was a distinct Slavic nation among others. Ukrainian Panslavism had more in common with the revolutionary Panslavism of Aleksander Herzen and Mikhail Bakunin than with the Panslavism of Fedor Tiutchev or Nikolai Danilevsky.



# The Steppe as Inspiration in David Burliuk's Art

*Myroslav Shkandrij*

Literary myths of the steppe have played a fundamental role in defining Ukraine, its historical origins and cultural characteristics. Depictions of a wild, beautiful, and dangerous borderland appeared in Polish literature as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but were particularly prominent in Polish romanticism. In the 1830s and 1840s Ukrainians who wrote in Russian, such as Nikolai Gogol (Mykola Hohol) and Evgenii Grebenka (Ievhen Hrebinka), reworked this myth into that of a colourful and vigorous frontier land settled by a sister-nation to the Russians. Shortly thereafter, several classics of Ukrainian literature, notably Taras Shevchenko and Panteleimon Kulish, again refashioned the literary image of the steppe into a foundation myth of a subjugated people and a colonized land. And in the post-revolutionary "cultural renaissance" of the 1920s, Mykola Khvylovy, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Valeriian Pidmohylny, Ievhen Kosynka, Geo Shkurupii, Maik Iohansen, and Iurii Ianovsky reinterpreted it either as an anarchic zone of conflict or a fertile and mysterious realm that incubates rebellious natures. These constructs were reflected in paintings, notably by artists such as Shevchenko, Iliia Repin, Arkhryp Kuindzhi, Serhii Vasylykivsky, and Fotii Krasysky. Their iconic images of the steppe, reproduced countless times, are deeply ingrained in contemporary popular consciousness.

It is less widely known that in pre-revolutionary years, the futurists grouped around David Burliuk aligned themselves with the Ukrainophilic aspect of this literary and artistic myth by counterposing a positive image of wildness to the negative one found in Russian literature in works such as Anton Chekhov's *Step* (Steppe) and Ivan Bunin's *Derevnia* (Country-

side). Bunin elaborated a particularly frightening and depressing picture of superstition, violence, and poverty. Moreover, neither he nor Chekhov attached any importance to the Ukrainian identity of the steppe. Burliuk, however, did: by challenging the symbolist aesthetic his literary and artistic mythologizing of the steppe played an important role in defining pre-revolutionary futurism. In the ensuing decades it inspired a number of experiments, and it is a key to understanding the artist's evolution.

There is almost universal agreement that Burliuk is the crucial figure in the rise of the futurist movement in the Russian Empire. He was the stimulus behind its first exhibitions and publications, and its tireless promoter. He participated with relish in the performances and public interventions that scandalized polite society and brought notoriety to the group. Markov goes so far as to assert that without him there would have been no futurism in the empire<sup>1</sup> and draws attention to the crucial importance of the early Hylaea (Gileia in Russian) cohort, which formed around him in 1907–13: the “history of Russian futurism is actually the history of the Gileya group.”<sup>2</sup>

The literary and artistic myth of the steppe that played such a prominent role in this group had been nurtured by Burliuk since the first years of the twentieth century. At the time his father was managing Count Sviatopolk Mirsky's estate at Zolota Balka, by the Dnieper River. David tells us that he decorated the walls of old Zaporozhian homesteads, and in the summer of 1902 painted portraits of villagers and hundreds of canvases of “Zaporozhian *mazanki* [cottages of daubed wood], azure horizons and willows, black poplars and steppe kurgans [burial mounds].”<sup>3</sup> After spending some time in Munich as a student of Anton Azhbe and Willi Dietz, he returned to the estate and continued to paint. In 1904 he found himself in Paris but was soon back in Ukraine again, first in Kherson and then at an estate near Konstantynohrad in Poltava Gubernia, where he painted landscapes and portraits of local people, including peasants. In 1906 he spent time on an estate in Romen County, Poltava Gubernia, and then in Novomoskovsk County, Katerynoslav

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1. Vladimir Markov, *Russian Futurism: A History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 9.

2. Vladimir Markov, “Predislovie,” in V.V. Khlebnikov, *Sobranie sochinenii* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1968; reprint of 1928–33 ed.), 1: 8.

3. David Burliuk, *Fragmenty iz vospominanii futurista: Pisma, stikhotvoreniia* (St. Petersburg: Pushkinskii fond, 1994), 113.

Gubernia. By 1907, when his father began supervising Chornianka, Count Aleksandr Mordvinov's huge estate near Kherson, which bordered on the Askaniiia-Nova Nature Reserve, Burliuk had produced hundreds of impressionist steppe landscapes and portraits.

Between 1907 and 1913 many noted artists, writers, and cultural figures were invited to and visited Chornianka, including Aleksei Kruchenykh, Velimir Khlebnikov, Benedikt Livshits, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Vasilii Kamensky, Wassily Kandinsky, Vladimir Izdebsky, Aristarkh Lentulov, and Mikhail Larionov. The Hylaea group, which formed in 1910–11, consisted of the three Burliuk brothers (David, Vladimir, and Nikolai), Livshits, Kamensky, Khlebnikov, Elena Guro (whose St. Petersburg home became a second base for the Hylaeans), Mayakovsky, and Kruchenykh. Sojourns in Chornianka were often long; for example, Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh stayed several months each year. A number of exhibitions were conceived there, to be realized later in St. Petersburg, Kyiv, Moscow, or Odesa. Boris Lavrentev has noted that several books were also organized there and then published in Kherson or Kachovnia.<sup>4</sup> The word "Hylaea" was derived from the Greek term for the Scythian territories by the mouth of the Dnieper, which are mentioned by Herodotus in connection with Hercules's feats. The idea of calling the group by this name may have been inspired by drawings on old maps in the estate library that showed Hercules resting by the Dnieper after his victories. The Burliuks, who were all tall and well built, would have identified with this figure. Aleksei Remizov, for example, jokingly advised Vladimir to go about covered only with a tiger skin around his loins and carrying a club. David took the remark as a supercilious reference to the "simple and savage life, so inimical to the lords and the effeminate tsarist gentry."<sup>5</sup>

The literary depiction of this south Ukrainian territory in Grigorii Danilevsky's (Hryhorii Danylevsky) popular Russian novels might have influenced the Burliuks. Described as a land of dramatic clashes between escaped serfs and ruthless landlords, it was also held out as a frontier where enormous fortunes were being made and where old, conservative traditions were being supplanted by a new ambitious and enterprising farming-business class. Hercules's strength and Danilevsky's vision of a

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4. Boris Lavrentev, "Avtobiografiia," *Novyi mir*, 1959, no. 4: 62–3.

5. Burliuk, *Fragmenty*, 25.

self-confident entrepreneurial class may have contributed to Burliuk's image of the southern steppes as a new world in the process of formation. Benedikt Livshits's chapter on Chornianka/Hylaea in *Polutoraglazyi strelets* (The One and a Half-Eyed Archer) presents a new world of vast fields worked by giants with insatiable appetites, which is superimposed on a heroic ancient world associated with Hesiod and Homer.

Burliuk appropriated the idea of barbarian vitality and strength from the Hylaeans, who after 1913 began calling themselves futurists. A Hellenized Black Sea littoral that incorporated the imagery of Hesiod, Homer, and Herodotus served as a foil to the Russian symbolists' identification with Greek culture. Viacheslav Ivanov, for example, represented the marriage of Russian symbolism with Greek tradition. His Hafiz salon of 1906–7 was a meeting place for the erudite and cultivated, who discussed Platonic love, homosexuality, Dionysian ecstasy, and art. Visitors assumed pseudonyms, wore classical attire, and, imitating characters from Plato's *Symposium*, drank wine as they reclined on couches. The Hylaeans viewed this sophisticated world of the St. Petersburg symbolists as artificial and treated its metaphysical and religious concerns with suspicion. By contrast, Burliuk's coterie identified with the robust Greek civilization that constantly interacted with the war-like Scythians. Moreover, it had an immediate and direct link with that ancient world. In 1907–12 the Burliuk brothers conducted archaeological research in Crimea, excavating about fifty kurgans containing Scythian artifacts, which they deposited in the Kherson Museum, their family museum in Chornianka, and their house in Mikhaleve near Moscow. They also brought back stone female figures (*kamiani baby*), ancient fertility symbols, which could be found throughout the steppe. Scythian forms, such as the symbolic depictions of horses, appeared in the art of both David and Vladimir, and the stone *baby* seem to have influenced David's depictions of nudes. The brothers continued their archaeological excavations during the First World War. Vladimir, for example, conducted a dig in Salonica and died in battle there in 1917. In his last letter he described a hundred antique marble pieces he was sending to the old house their mother had bought in Mikhaleve. The family lived there from 1914 until 1918 and turned it into a family museum. When it had to be evacuated after the Revolution, it contained 250 icons, paintings by Kandinsky, Natalia Goncharova, Alexei Jawlensky, Franz Marc, Lentulov, Alexandra Exter and others, as well as Scythian relics, including seventy skeletons and two hundred skulls.

As I have suggested elsewhere, Burliuk's imaginary steppe also drew heavily on family history and identity.<sup>6</sup> My argument here is that this myth had several interrelated components: primitivism; Greek, Scythian, Kyivan, and Cossack history; the folkloric; the emotional-intuitive; and the textural. In different periods of his life David drew to different degrees on each of them, and in this way the construct of the steppe served him as a constant source of inspiration.

Burliuk always associated primitivism with biological and psychological health. On different occasions he used the terms "simple," "laconic," "coarse" (*gruboe*), and "minimalist" to describe this ideal and summarized it, perhaps most memorably, as "a wild beauty."<sup>7</sup> His pre-revolutionary poetry and art demonstrate the intensity, vitality, *joie de vivre*, and eroticism that he associated with primitivism and extolled throughout his life. Futurism in this broad sense, as he himself said, was "not a school, but a new world perception (*mirooshchushchenie*). The futurists were new people ... cheerful (*bodrye*), not dejected (*ne unyvaiushchie*).... And the new generation could not feel creative until it had overthrown, ridiculed the generation of its 'teachers,' the symbolists."<sup>8</sup> Burliuk often translated these "primitivist" qualities into an art of clear outlines, combinations of bright colours, and a deliberate, shocking coarseness in texture and imagery. These features of his art were counterposed to what he perceived to be effete and decadent in symbolism. David even saw the juxtaposition of colours as a kind of erotically charged primitivism: "When I paint, it seems to me that I am a savage rubbing the stick of one colour against another in order to obtain a certain colour effect. The effect of burning. The effect of passion, the sexual arousal of one colour's characteristic features and peculiarities by another."<sup>9</sup>

Against the backdrop of symbolist refinement, the impact of these ideas and Burliuk's personality itself were dramatic and memorable, as Shklovsky testifies:

He had been abroad. His drawings were powerful and he knew anatomy to perfection.... Skill had deprived academic drawing of any authority for him. He could draw better than any professor and now had become

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6. Myroslav Shkandrij, "Steppe Son: David Burliuk's Identity," *Canadian American Slavic Studies* 40, no. 1 (2005): 65–78.

7. Burliuk, *Fragmenty*, 104.

8. *Ibid.*, 63.

9. *Ibid.*, 142.



indifferent to academic drawing.... David Burliuk had grown up in the Steppe.... They even had their own sculpture gallery: a Scythian idol, found in a burial mound. When David's father subsequently lost his position, the family took this idol to Moscow.... This Scythian idol, which had traveled to Moscow by mistake, somehow came to rest ... near a barn where students of the art school gathered.<sup>10</sup>

Shklovsky describes David's impact on Moscow's art world as that of an elemental force:

In springtime, when the water is going down and the rafts are running aground, the willow branches that tie the logs together are cut apart. Loose tree trunks, racing after one another, jostling one another, drenched by the waves, take off from the sandbanks and float toward the sea. One-eyed Burliuk had set everything in his pictures adrift long ago. This is what he brought to Moscow.<sup>11</sup>

When Burliuk initiated Mayakovsky into art, this impact was immediately magnified. Shklovsky sees the latter's poetry, which employed "declarations, and fragmentary, dislocated and distorted images" and thrust "image into image," as analogous to "the methods of contemporary painting" that he had learned from Burliuk.<sup>12</sup> The primitive and elemental were employed in a deliberate assault on established taste. New forms, Burliuk mused later, "appear absurd," and it takes courage to defend them "against critics from around the whole world who know and love only the old, already dried-out, mummified."<sup>13</sup>

The Greek-Scythian element in steppe history was overlaid in Burliuk's imagination by the Ukrainian Cossack element, which had also contributed to the creation of a physically and psychologically resilient people. Leaders of peasant rebellions and Cossack statesmen like Petro Sahaidachny appear in Burliuk's poetry as reminders of the once active and presently dormant energies of the steppe. He derived his knowledge of Ukrainian history from Shevchenko's and Gogol's works, the oral tradition, and family history: the Burliuks traced their ancestry to the Ukrainian Cossacks and beyond that to the Crimean Tatars, as the family tree drawn by David's brother-in-law, the Czech artist Václav Fiala,

10. Viktor B. Shklovskii, *Mayakovsky and His Circle* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1972), 19–21.

11. *Ibid.*, 22–3.

12. *Ibid.*, 35.

13. Burliuk, *Fragmenty*, 152.

indicates.<sup>14</sup> It is clear from David's passionate attachment to the family heritage that it inspired not only a literary-artistic program but an entire approach to life. In his memoirs he continually expresses respect for the Zaporozhian liberties (*volnosti*) and contempt for the narrow-minded values of the bourgeois (*meshchanin*). In a spirited essay entitled "Moi predki" (My Ancestors),<sup>15</sup> he speaks of his forerunners with admiration and points out that the Cossack settlers and pioneers lived in freedom and prosperity, enjoyed good harvests and were surrounded with apiaries and windmills on clear streams. "Serfdom ... had not put down such deep roots in Ukraine and was not so evident to the eye; it had not reduced the people to misery. In Ukraine there were many descendants of the recently free Zaporozhians whose families had avoided the wretched fate of serf dependency."<sup>16</sup> David was particularly proud of the endurance, stubbornness, and industriousness of his forefathers and felt that these qualities nurtured his own determination to inject "a new art, a wild beauty" into contemporary culture.<sup>17</sup> His ancestors' fort-like settlements, built out of oak to withstand the elements and enemy attacks, suggest an ethos and aesthetic that was in conflict with the refinement cultivated by many Russian symbolists.

In his well-known poem "Burliuk" (1919), Khlebnikov, whose mother was Ukrainian, describes the impression made by David's self-identification as a Cossack type. After mentioning the fact that in Munich Azhbe had called him "a wild mare of Russia's black earth," a definition Burliuk proudly accepted and often repeated, Khlebnikov goes on:

Russia is the enlarged continent of Europe  
And she greatly amplified the voice of the West,  
As though a monster's roar  
Increased a thousand times did reach,  
You fat giant, your laughter rang through all Russia.  
And the stem of the Dnieper's mouth squeezed you in a fist,  
A fighter for the people's right in the art of titans,  
You gave Russia's soul a sea coast.  
A strange break-up of painterly worlds

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14. Syracuse University Archives, the David Burliuk Collection, box 6.

15. Burliuk, *Fragmenty*, 98–104.

16. *Ibid.*, 101–2.

17. *Ibid.*, 104.

Was the forerunner of freedoms, a liberation from chains...

....

And the ear of the Dnieper's mouth,  
 Clay lumps of people  
 Were obedient to you.  
 With a giant heartbeat  
 You moved the depths of the cast iron's will  
 With your fat laughter alone.  
 Songs of revenge and sadness  
 Sounded in your voice,  
 Across the kurgan of cast-iron wealth  
 And a hero you came out of the kurgan  
 Of your ancient native land.<sup>18</sup>

The interest in Cossack history surfaces continually in David's biography and art. His archive, now housed at Syracuse University, reveals that he spoke at various functions on Shevchenko and tried to obtain the works of the Ukrainian émigré writer Iurii Kosach. Both had written on the Cossacks. Burliuk's interest in Ukrainian literature was perhaps deeper than critics have suspected. We know, for example, that in the early thirties he and his wife read Vasyl Stefanyk, Ivan Mykytenko, Arkadii Liubchenko, and Ostap Vyshnia.<sup>19</sup> Throughout his life he painted many versions of the Cossack Mamai figure, a popular subject of Ukrainian folk painting, the earliest examples of which date back to the seventeenth century. Mamai is always portrayed as a Zaporozhian Cossack sitting on the ground with his horse and sword nearby, and food and drink in front of him. The figure represents independence, self-sufficiency, and rugged individualism. The artist also incorporated the

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18. "Rossiia – razshirenni materik Evropy / I golos zapada gromadno uvelichila, / Kak budto by donessia krik / Chudovishcha, chto bolshe v tysiachi raz, / Ty zhirnyi velikan, tvoi khokhot prozvuchal po vsei Rossii. / I stebel dneprovskogo ustia, im ty zhat byl v kulake, / Borets za pravo naroda v iskusstve titanov, / Dushe Rossii dal morskije berega. / Strannaia lomka mirov zhivopysnykh / Byla predtecheiu svobod; osvobozhdeniem ot tsepei... / .... / I kolos ustia Dnepra, / Komia gliny liudei / Byli poslushny tebe. / S velikanskim serdtsa udarom / Dvigal ty glyby voli chuguna / Odnim svoim zhirnymi [sic] khokhotom. / Pesni mesti i pechali / V tvoem golose zvuchali, / Cherez kurgan chugunnogo bogatstva / I, bogatyr ty vyshel iz kurgana / Rodiny drevnei tvoei" (V. Khlebnikov, "Burliuk," *Color and Rhyme* 55 [1964–1965]: 30).

19. Marussia Burliuk, "Stranitsy zhizni v Amerike: Dnevnik 1930 g.," *Color and Rhyme* 48 (1961–1962): 23.

medieval or princely era of Kyivan Rus' into his art. For example, he stated that the painting *Sviatoslav Drinking His Own Blood* (1915), conceived as a protest against the horrors of the First World War, was done "in the style of ancient Ukrainian painting."<sup>20</sup>

Burliuk's positive idea of the steppe's "wildness" was communicated to other Hylaeans, notably Khlebnikov, whose poetry also contained images of stone *baby*, Kyivan Rus', Cossack rebels like Ostrianysia and Morozenko, and numerous Ukrainianisms. His "Lesnaia deva" (The Forest Maiden) and "I i E" (I and E), which are set against prehistoric backgrounds, are examples of primitivism in literature, and they may have been written in Chornianka. Like many other cultural figures who studied and worked in a predominantly Russian-language environment, David wrote exclusively in Russian, while he retained strong Ukrainian sympathies and frequently identified himself as a Ukrainian. His memoirs, which naturally dwell on his time in Russia, particularly the "futurist" years of 1912–18, nonetheless tell us a great deal about his early life in Ukraine and the Hylaeon episode, both of which played a large role in his self-imaging.

Along with a number of other avant-gardists of the day, Burliuk showed respect for folk, naïve, and children's art, collected hand-painted signboards, encouraged friends and family members to paint, and occasionally arranged exhibits of their work. His mother's paintings appeared at one of the first avant-garde exhibitions, the Link exhibition of 1908 in Kyiv.<sup>21</sup> A painting by his five-year-old son was shown at the First Exhibition of Russian Paintings in Japan in 1920. The attraction of folk creativity was overlaid by a number of considerations. For one thing, Burliuk was fascinated by the prolific. He associated it with the irrepressible creative impulse that drives popular art, but also related it to nature's own mysterious powers of generation and regeneration. Proud of his own prolific artistic productivity, he lauded it in others. He commented favourably that Khlebnikov "wrote ceaselessly. He was a great graphomaniac.... Every external impulse stirred him to a stream of words."<sup>22</sup> Each rewriting by Khlebnikov became a new variation; the poet was in a constant creative relationship to his environment. Both Burliuk and

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20. Burliuk, *Fragmenty*, 124–5.

21. Nобert Evdaev, *David Burliuk v Amerike: Materialy k biografii* (Moscow: Nauka, 2002), 32.

22. Burliuk, *Fragmenty*, 44.

Khlebnikov produced innumerable works that have been lost, forgotten, or destroyed. However, the sheer abundance of their works guaranteed that many would survive.

Another attraction of folk creativity lay in its coarse, rough, and unpolished character. This too was more than a foil to what was judged to be the excessive refinement of symbolist art. Sometimes David extended this criterion to personal deportment and appearance, writing rather approvingly of Khlebnikov's unkempt honesty and altogether disparagingly of Igor Severianin's affectation and controlled acting.<sup>23</sup> From his memoirs we learn that Khlebnikov visited a number of prominent writers, including Dmitrii Merezhkovsky, Aleksei Remizov, and Viacheslav Ivanov, who, according to Burliuk, met him with condescension: "the symbolists found him 'vague' [*nechetkim*], un-groomed.... No one could groom Vitia, he was grandly tousled by nature." He describes Khlebnikov as a "wild, phenomenal organism continually creating words ... with all the voraciousness of fecundity."<sup>24</sup>

Burliuk's interest in popular creativity was connected with a fascination with vitality in social life. This aspect of his art became very prominent in the late thirties when he began to paint Long Island fishing ports, village and town scenes, focusing on the relaxed, cheerful interaction among people. From 1949, as he travelled through the United States, Mexico, and Europe, he captured similar scenes in these countries. However, he practiced this kind of ethnographic naturalism, as it has been called, at the same time as he began to paint reminiscences of his early life in Ukraine. American critics who began to take a closer look at Burliuk during the Second World War immediately drew favourable attention to these works. In 1942 George Baer voiced his protest that the American art world had neglected Burliuk and that the jury of the "Artist For Victory" exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum had rejected his work. Baer praised the vitality and humanism of his "folk art" paintings and the fact that Burliuk had "never given up his identity with the folk art of his native land": "But most dear to the hearts of true Burliuk enthusiasts are the small pictures of farm life with animals—the gnome-like peasants with blue, yellow, green or red cows and horses. The sensuous textures of the lavish pigments are in remarkable harmony with

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23. Ibid., 58, 64–73.

24. Ibid., 57–8.



the luxury and joy of these segments of folk fantasy.”<sup>25</sup> Herman Baron also wrote that “Burliuk is a folk painter fundamentally. His native ability glows very bright whenever he touches any subject that is related to the soil.”<sup>26</sup> Even Michael Gold, a leading member of the Communist Party and a firm proponent of revolutionary art, expressed the view that the “best of Burliuk” were his peasant paintings: “Here he returns to the green fields and whitewashed thatch-roof villages of his Ukrainian childhood. This is the deepest core of the man.”<sup>27</sup> These works, full of bright colours and a profound sense of tranquility, show Burliuk tapping into his earliest sources of inspiration.

In the 1920s and 1930s Burliuk worked for the pro-Communist newspaper *Russkii golos* as a proof reader and art editor. Although he occasionally produced propagandistic paintings, his revolutionary enthusiasm sits rather uncomfortably alongside a reverence for the land and agricultural labour. *Lenin and Tolstoy* can serve as an example. The painting exists in two versions (1925–40 and 1944). The first was exhibited at New York’s Independents in 1930. Renamed *Unconquerable Russia* by Katherine Dreier, it was displayed in New York’s ACA Gallery in 1943, at a time when the United States and the Soviet Union were war-time allies. The allegorical meaning, even given Burliuk’s explanation, remains rather obscure. He interpreted the painting as follows: Russia in the first two decades of the twentieth century is expressed best in two names, Tolstoy and Lenin. Tolstoy is the “symbol and mirror” of old, pre-revolutionary Russia, while Lenin is the “ploughman” of the new era. The figure of Tolstoy, the “titan of the past,” is bathed in moonlight, which symbolizes the reflected light of the past, of romanticism, religion, and goodness. Lenin, the “titan of the future,” has the sun in his pocket. This is the light of the approaching, as yet unknown, day. The new government is merciless and cruel. This interpretation immediately raises the problem of Lenin’s ambiguous characterization. Tolstoy, whose anarchism and pro-peasant stance Burliuk admired and whose doctrines of non-violence, equality, and innate divine reason inspired many followers, seems to be demoted to a beast of burden in the painting: he

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25. George Baer, “Brave and Adventurous Painter,” *New York Herald Tribune*, 31 December 1942.

26. Herman Baron, “Introduction,” in Michael Gold, *David Burliuk, Artist-Scholar: Father of Russian Futurism* (New York: ACA Gallery, 1944), 2.

27. M. Gold, *David Burliuk, Artist-Scholar*, 8.

is pulling a plough driven by Lenin. The painting can be interpreted in other ways with equal plausibility. Burliuk's own sympathies seem to have been closer to Tolstoy's. In his memoirs he describes his early enthusiasm for Tolstoy's and Thoreau's "simplicity."<sup>28</sup> Among the many jottings in his archive at Syracuse University are Tolstoy's words on man's powerful drive for happiness, which moves outside known rules and tries, like a spider, to enwrap everything around itself in threads of love. In the end, Tolstoy's message was far more congenial to him than Lenin's bolshevism. His attempt to conjoin the two figures in the painting is therefore incoherent in ideological terms but revealing of Burliuk's inner struggles. His persistent fascination with Tolstoy is all the more interesting because in 1912, when the futurists had scandalized St. Petersburg society with their performances at the Brodiachaia Sobaka restaurant denouncing the art of the past, Burliuk had described Tolstoy as a "society gossip" (*svetskaia spletnitsa*). The comment caused an uproar; an elderly lady fainted and had to be carried out.<sup>29</sup> In 1929 Burliuk published a long poem entitled "Velikii krotkii bolshevik" (A Great Gentle Bolshevik) in which Tolstoy emerges as a shepherd caring for the poor and preaching a simple life. He is seen as an early expression of "the bolshevik breed ... A MOST GENTLE BOLSHEVIK" (*bolshevikov poroda ... KROTCHAISHII BOLSHEVIK*).<sup>30</sup>

Like other avant-gardists, the futurists were interested in using artistic intuition to uncover hidden forces and invisible energies. Kruchenykh wrote "We began to see right through the world" (*My stali videt mir naskvoz*).<sup>31</sup> Burliuk was deeply fascinated with nature's hidden processes taking place outside the normal sphere of human perception. In 1910–12 he painted a whole series of abstract works that show the motions of atomic parts.<sup>32</sup> In the 1920s he painted radio waves and energy forces. However, his pre-revolutionary, impressionistic paintings of the steppe already suggest an attempt to capture things invisible to the naked eye.

28. Burliuk, *Fragmenty*, 107.

29. A.V. Krusanov, *Futuristicheskaia revoliutsiia 1917–1921* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2003), 1: 105.

30. David Burliuk, "Velikii krotkii bolshevik," in his *Tolstoi, Gorky: Poemy* (New York: Izdatelstvo Marii Nikiforovny Burliuk, 1928–29), 12–13.

31. Aleksei Kruchenykh, *Troe* (St. Petersburg, 1913), 34.

32. Volodymyr Popovych, "Davyd Burliuk (1882–1967)," *Notatky z mystetstvoznavstva* 20 (1980): 21.

These works pulsate with energy generated by the interaction of millions of living particles. They typically depict a summer scene under the mid-day sun. In his earliest works the technique is pointillistic, and in the later ones it is reminiscent of Van Gogh's intense juxtaposition of colours. In all cases he produces a shimmering surface teeming with activity and suggesting countless intricate patterns. The viewer senses the presence of an endlessly creative and mysterious natural world. Later, in his landscape paintings done in Japan in 1920–22 and then in some of the early paintings in the United States, he reproduced the same impressionistic patterning.

Burliuk's attempts to describe his intuitions were not always helpful. A bemused reporter for New York's *Sun* reported that the artist, who wore a "twelve-colour waistcoat" and sported a bright red "five-legged, chicken-headed bull" on his left cheek, explained that

art ... will express the soul, not gross, material things. It is the soul that counts, always. This is the very heart of Mr. Burliuk's credo.

Like the Hindu yogis he has been able, by contemplation, to throw himself into such an ineffable state of mind that he can perceive the imperceptible, vision the invisible, behold the unseeable and put down upon canvas that which not only does not exist but never did exist. This is the fourth dimensional idea in the new art, and it takes a rattling good man to get away with that stuff.

[...] "Man's organism embraces the world through his senses," Mr. Burliuk continued, "but the hypothesis of five senses is incorrect. There are more. There are physical and metaphysical objects. Between two 'real' physical skyscrapers there exists a third created at the intersection of the mentally prolonged surfaces of the 'real' structures. Between two living beings there is always a third—the abstract and metaphysical."<sup>33</sup>

A more lucid explanation is contained in Burliuk's *Fragmenty*. He rejects the idea that art copies nature and proposes that art is analogous to musical expression, highlighting the elements of rhythm, movement, colour, special construction, and texture.<sup>34</sup> Art, he assures us, requires a special sensitivity and it can be revolutionary only in the novelty of its forms. He categorically rejects Nikolai Chernyshevsky's, Dmitrii Pisarev's, and the critical realists' utilitarian views of art, thus indirectly criticizing socialist realism.<sup>35</sup> In contrast to these approaches he defends

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33. Edwin C. Hill, "Burliuk Paints What Isn't There," *Sun*, 25 March 1929.

34. Burliuk, *Fragmenty*, 131.

35. Burliuk, *Fragmenty*, 136.

modernism and the vision of the individual artist. After making these points he immediately turns to a discussion of Tolstoy, and this suggests that his impressionistic paintings of a living, breathing steppe are inspired by a Tolstoyan sense of awe at the infinite complexity and intricacy of nature's designs.

All Burliuk's work exhibits a remarkable sense of texture. Livshits recalled how Vladimir dragged his painting through the mud in Chornianka.<sup>36</sup> David Burliuk had a habit of slamming just completed, undried paintings on the ground, thus enlisting nature in the creation of fortuitous patterning. In his memoirs David points out that nature is a vast archive of marvelous forms, which can be read in minute details as much as in panoramas: in the patterns left by the tides on the flat sand banks, the surface patterns of trees and lichen, the shadows of leaves and branches on the white walls of daubed cottages, the frosting on windowpanes.<sup>37</sup> Every puddle contains the scent of the ocean, every stone the breath of the desert, he writes. "In painting the simple can express the infinitely complex."<sup>38</sup> By studying these forms, artists try to grasp the macrocosm encoded in the microcosmic and to understand the possibilities within nature: "Imagination essentially is creative in character, it creates new forms. It is an apprehending [*postizhenie*] of the world. It is a widening of horizons. In this lies the irreplaceable educational role of art."<sup>39</sup>

The role of the artist is to create new forms. These forms can be imaginatively represented, as in Burliuk's attempts to depict the motions of atoms, but he preferred to describe the process of creating new forms as the product of intuition guided by the observation of nature. He seemed to feel that the surest way to understand existence was through the study of elements, details, simple forms closely observed. By scrutinizing the "microcosm," one can grasp the chaotic, constantly moving macrocosm. All life, in fact, "depends on the freedom of creativity in art."<sup>40</sup> New discoveries in art, he suggested, are inescapably linked to new discoveries in the sciences and other fields. Great changes were imminent: "We stand before doors that are opening into a century

36. Benedikt Livshits, *The One and a Half-Eyed Archer*, trans. John E. Bowlit (Newtonville: Oriental Research Partners, 1977), 51.

37. *Ibid.*, 154.

38. Burliuk, *Fragmenty*, 151.

39. *Ibid.*, 155.

40. D. Burliuk, *Entelekhizm* (New York: Izdanie Marii Nikiforovny Burliuk, 1930), 11.

when the legend of the philosopher's stone (artificial intelligence) will become a reality. It is hard to foresee the discoveries of the future, but they will be unexpected and will radically change the lives of the next generations."<sup>41</sup>

Burliuk loved and theorized about the tactile, textural quality of painting probably as much as any other painter. Blind in one eye as a result of a childhood accident, he often arrived at insights by studying the details of texture. He once wrote:

Let your eyes rest upon the surfaces, faces of my pictures.... I throw pigments with brushes, with palette knife, smear them on my fingers, and squeeze and splash the colors from the tubes.... Visual topography is the appreciation of paintings from the point of view of the characteristics of their surfaces. The surfaces of my paintings are: laminated, soft, glossy, glassy, tender as the female breast, slick as the lips of a maiden or the petals of a rose, flat and dusty, flat and dull, smooth, even and mossy, dead, sand, hairy, deeply shelled, shallow shelled, shell-like, roughly hewn, faintly cratered, grained, splintery, mountainous, rocky, craterous, thorny, prickly, camel-backed, et cetera. In my works you will find every kind of a surface one is able to imagine or to meet in the labyrinths of life.<sup>42</sup>

In the end, Burliuk did not bring a "wild beauty" into art simply in order to scandalize accepted taste. He was an artist who at an early age had been enchanted by the earth's abundance and beauty. All his life Burliuk drew upon this early inspiration.

His nature poems include some moving literary works. One of them is named "Nezabvennaia vesna" (Unforgettable Spring):

I dreamed of silent steppes,  
Away from railway lines,  
Where we wandered in the golden years,  
Our youthful excitement with glorifying.  
....  
I remember the ancient home that sheltered us,  
The shadow of the green lampshade, –  
A picture dear to my heart:  
Peaceful daily life and the labour of the countryside.

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41. Ibid., 9.

42. *Color and Rhyme 17: Burliuk in 1947–48. 8th Exhibition at ACA* (Hampton Bays, n.d. [1949]), 8.



....

I shall not forget how you said to me

Quiet! Listen how the grass grows!

Here is the urge for living ideals,

This is the new head of life!<sup>43</sup>

Like Antaeus, who needed to touch the earth in order to regain strength, Burliuk kept returning to the mysterious powers he had first sensed in the steppe. The memory always rejuvenated him. Even towards the end of his life, on 22 June 1959, he wrote:

I have reached seventy-eight today.

And I stand at the threshold of discoveries.

The most stubborn Cossack, ever ready to campaign

For the sake of another pole of achievement!<sup>44</sup>

Few critics have linked Burliuk with the symbolists. Although the artist would have denied any mysticism in his views, his understanding of the role of the artist as someone who uses intuition to penetrate life's mysteries approaches their ideas. As Postupalsky has suggested, even his archaisms and his "eighteenth-century" syntax appear to imitate Viacheslav Ivanov.<sup>45</sup> However, his art and his poetry, even when they deal with urban themes, maintain an anti-urban stance. Burliuk appears to be drawing on the outsider's viewpoint. Postupalsky has explained the artist's turn to the archaic and his appeals to "nature" in terms of his drawing on subconscious impressions formed during childhood and far from capital cities.<sup>46</sup> The ability to constantly stand in wonder at the world always gives his art a freshness and vigour that has appealed to many. Henry Miller wrote to Burliuk on 15 November 1954 from Big

43. "Mne prigrezilis stepi glukhie, / V storone ot zheleznykh dorog, / Gde bluzhdali my v gody zlatye, / Svoi mladoi slavosloviia vostorg. / .... / Pomniu dom, nas iutivshii, starinnyi, / Abazhura zelenogo ten, – / Doroguiu dlia serdtsa kartinu: / Byt pokoinyi i trud dereven. / .... / Ne zabudu kak ty mne skazala / Tishe! Slushai rastet kak trava! / Zdes stremlenie k zhivym idealam, / Zdes – noveishaia zhizni glava!" (Syracuse University Archives, the David Burliuk Collection, box 7).

44. "Mne semdesiat vosmoi poshel segodnia god. / I ia stoiu na grani otkrovenii. / Uporneishii kazak, vsegda gotov v pokhod / Vo imia poliusa inogo dostizheniia!" ("Stikhi Davida Burliuka," *Color and Rhyme* 55 [1964–1965]: 6).

45. Igor Postupalsky, *Literaturnyi trud Davida D. Burliuka* (New York: Izdanie Marii Nikiforovny Burliuk, 1932), 7.

46. Ibid.

Sur, California, that he himself had "often stood enraptured" before the artist's canvases, particularly his *Southern Scenes*, which "were orgiastic in color and rhythm."<sup>47</sup> In fact, Burliuk's ability to capture nature had been noticed by his earliest critics. In 1909 Andre Benois wrote: "His pictures ... are full of a great feeling for nature and portray with originality the august despondency of the steppe expanse."<sup>48</sup>

These considerations lead one to think that the interpretation of Burliuk's art has been focused too narrowly on an aesthetic of rupture, a "futurist" desire to surprise or shock. This indisputable feature of his work has often deflected attention from his cult of vitality in all its forms—biological, psychological, and cultural—which sustained him through a long career. Not only his early steppe paintings but also his Japanese landscapes, Mexican street scenes, and Long Island villages convey a universe alive with countless life forms. In these pictures people melt into the landscape, becoming part of the natural universe. Individuality is de-emphasized, as though humbled and dwarfed against the vastness of the sky and the open plain. The original inspiration for this art and the key to understanding the painter's evolution lie in his feeling for the steppe as an Arcadia, an unspoiled, fertile land with links to ancient cultures. Burliuk once said that the "road to the future lies through the understanding of the past" and, as though providing an example, continued: "The kurgan is a symbol of the female breast. It sleeps under the bosom of mother earth."<sup>49</sup> Contemplation of the steppe provided Burliuk with a repertoire of ways to make art new, and to stimulate in himself an intense excitement while remaining faithful to this modernist desideratum. The turn to primitivism first appeared in the Hylaeian period, and it remained an inspiration throughout his life. He took elements of the steppe "myth" that already existed in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian cultures, and refashioned it with an eye to both affronting and enlightening the contemporary public.

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47. Syracuse University Archives, the David Burliuk Collection, Correspondence.

48. Andre Benois, "Rech," 22 March 1909; quoted in Nikolai Khardzhiev, *K istorii russkogo avangarda* (Stockholm: Hylaea Prints, 1976), 79, and in Elena Basner, "The Phenomenon of David Burliuk in the History of the Russian Avant-Garde Movement," in *David Burliuk, 1882–1967: Exhibition of Works from the State Russian Museum and Museums and Private Collections of Russia, USA and Germany* (St. Petersburg: Palace Editions, 1995), 24.

49. David Burliuk, *Reikh: Cherti ego zhizni i tvorchestva, 1918–1930* (New York: Izdatelstvo Marii Nikiforovny Burliuk, n.d. [1930]), 26.

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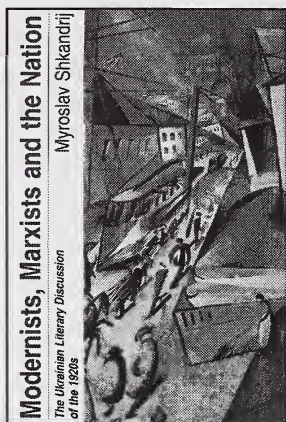
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## Andrew Suknaski and the Canadian Literary Canon

*Lindy A. Ledohowski*

The idea of a fixed literary canon—the ultimate list of important and significant literary works—has become outdated. With the emergence of theories that reject the marginalization inherent in any sort of fixed catalogue, the concept of canonicity has become somewhat of a taboo in academic circles. However, the impulse to move away from exclusivity towards inclusivity is at odds with attempts to delimit and recognize a Canadian national literature. As Canadians we are of two minds: on the one hand we want to avoid anything that smacks of elitism and, on the other hand, we want to announce and reward our legitimate literary output. In order to reconcile these incompatible aims we have learned to use fluid, flexible criteria in judging what literature can be considered significant and have embraced Barbara Herrnstein Smith's idea of cultural significance as the marker of canonicity. She argues that

[t]he endurance of a classic canonical author ... owes not to the alleged transcultural or universal value of his works but, on the contrary, to the continuity of their circulation in a particular culture. [They are] repeatedly cited and recited, translated, taught and imitated, and thoroughly enmeshed in the network of intertextuality that continuously constitutes the high culture.<sup>1</sup>

Simply put, this definition identifies canonicity as the degree to which a work is widely read, anthologized, taught, and analyzed by literary critics. Beyond mere popularity, this idea of canonicity is one that recognizes a

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1. Barbara Herrnstein Smith, "Contingencies of Value," *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 1 (September 1983): 30–1.

text's cultural currency. I propose to apply this definition of literary canon to the work of the Saskatchewan poet Andrew Suknaski, who enjoyed popularity in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, and became almost unknown by the turn of the twenty-first century.

Born in 1942 on a small homestead near Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan, to a Ukrainian father and a Polish mother, Suknaski maintained a strong link to both his ethnic and Western Canadian identities in his poetry. He began publishing his poems in chapbook and pamphlet form and founded an independent underground magazine, *Elfin Plot*, which featured a number of his early poems. Throughout the early 1970s his poems were published by a variety of independent presses, such as Vancouver's Blewointment Press, which produced Suknaski's book of poetry and illustrations *Old Mill* in 1972, and Anak Press in his home town of Wood Mountain, which published *Y the evolution into Ruenz* (1972), *Suicide Notes: Book I* (1973), the first edition of *Wood Mountain Poems* (1973), *Blind Man's House* (1975), and *Writing on Stone: Poem Drawings 1966-76* (1976). *Leaving Wood Mountain* (1975) was published by Wood Mountain's Sundog Press, and *Octomi* (1976), by Thistledown Press in Saskatoon.

The second, expanded and revised, edition of *Wood Mountain Poems* (1976), which begins a genuine socio-cultural re-examination of home as a theoretical and historical construct, brought Suknaski wide acclaim. In 1977-79 he was writer-in-residence at St. John's College at the University of Manitoba. His next major anthology, *The Ghosts Call You Poor* (1978), earned him the Award for Poetry of the Canadian Authors Association, and Harvey Spak made the film *Wood Mountain Poems* about him for the National Film Board of Canada. His next work, *East of Myloona* (1979), was a chapbook compilation of poetry about the people of Northern Canada, illustrated by the author. The major collection *In the Name of Narid* (1981) combined poetry about Suknaski's Canadian home with reflections on political repressions in other countries, particularly in Soviet Ukraine. It was succeeded by two other ambitious projects: *Montage for an Interstellar Cry* (1982), a long poem, which raised questions of time and space through pseudo-prophetic poetry, and *Silk Trail* (1985), which blended a number of ethnic influences and embraced multiculturalism. Stephen Scobie compiled *The Land They Gave Away: New and Selected Poems* (1982) from a wide range of Suknaski's works.



In addition to his own collections, Suknaski's poems appeared in many broader anthologies. His more mature poetry first appeared in Al Purdy's anthology *Storm Warning* (1971). Along with Earle Birney, Bill Bissett, and Judith Copithorne, he contributed some verses to a volume of concrete poetry, *Four Parts Sand* (1972). Four of his poems appeared in Jars Balan and Yuri Klynovy's *Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada Since the Second World War* (1987). His work was also included in *A/Long Prairie Lines: An Anthology of Long Prairie Poems* (1989), edited by Daniel Lenoski, and *Inscriptions: A Prairie Poetry Anthology* (1992), edited by Dennis Cooley. Moreover, well-known creative writers and academic Canadianists Al Purdy, Eli Mandel, Earle Birney, Dennis Cooley, Douglas Barbour, and Robert Kroetsch could all be considered Suknaski enthusiasts at some point in their careers. Al Purdy, for example, encouraged Suknaski in what appears to have been a lasting and fruitful working relationship. In the autographed version of Purdy's copy of *Wood Mountain Poems*, Suknaski acknowledges that the collection would not have come into being without Purdy's efforts as editor. In an article first published only a year after the second edition of *Wood Mountain Poems*, Mandel relies heavily on his analysis of the poems from that collection to argue that prairie writers are "men out of place here—or anywhere."<sup>2</sup> According to Barbour, "Earle Birney also gave [Suknaski] needed spiritual support."<sup>3</sup> Birney was Suknaski's creative writing instructor, and they both contributed to *Four Parts Sand*. Besides editing Suknaski's poetry for *In the Name of Narid* and including Suknaski's poems in his later anthology of prairie writing, *Inscriptions: A Prairie Poetry Anthology*, Cooley analyzed and described Suknaski's work.<sup>4</sup> Kroetsch pointed out the influence of the oral tradition on Suknaski's works<sup>5</sup> and spoke of himself, Mandel, and Suknaski when he stated "we write ourselves into existence."<sup>6</sup>

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2. Eli Mandel, "Writing West: On the Road to Wood Mountain," in *Trace: Prairie Writers on Writing*, ed. Birk Sproxtton (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1986), 52.

3. Douglas Barbour, "Andrew Suknaski," *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, ed. W.H. New (Farmington Hills, Mich.: Gale Research Company, 1986), 354.

4. Dennis Cooley, "The Vernacular Muse in Prairie Poetry," in *The Vernacular Muse* (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1987), 185–6.

5. Robert Kroetsch "The Moment of the Discovery of America Continues," in *The Lovely Treachery of Words* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1989), 6.

6. Robert Kroetsch, *Life Sentence* (Toronto: Press Porcupine, 1981), 133.

Thus, by the end of the 1980s Suknaski was well on the way to winning a permanent place in the body of Canadian literature that continues to be studied and read; that is, well on his way to canonicity in a Canadian context. In the early 1990s, however, his works virtually disappeared from the critical landscape. What happened? To answer this question let us take a closer look at Suknaski's writing career.

His early writings brought him success and recognition as a visual poet. In the first years he experimented with concrete poetry, interweaving visual art and text in a variety of innovative ways. In the late sixties Suknaski attended the University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University. Barbour claims that Suknaski was influenced by Bill Bissett's concrete poetry when he worked in Vancouver,<sup>7</sup> and Scobie writes: "it was as a concrete poet that I myself first became aware of Andy, when he published a limited edition of visual poems by himself, bp nichol, and me, in 1971."<sup>8</sup> Thanks to the international nature of the concrete-poetry movement in the latter half of the twentieth century, these three Canadians contributed to the Expo/International de Proposiciones à Realizar (investigaciones/poeticas) held in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Afterwards Suknaski produced *Old Mill*, a compilation of poem-drawings, including a few of his original poster poems. Thus at the relatively young age of twenty-nine, Suknaski had achieved significant recognition as a concrete poet.

Throughout the 1970s he moved away from specifically visual poems towards a more oral and anecdotal style that would characterize much of his later work. While maintaining a unique visual layout by spreading words almost sporadically across the page, he subordinated the graphic elements to the poetic text more directly than in his earlier poems. Balan points out that "the way Suknaski's lines sometimes lurch about the page certainly suggests that his writing is born of the struggle to be articulate."<sup>9</sup> In this way the visual form complements the thematic expression of the poems. Suknaski developed this more conversational poetic style in the first informal version of *Wood Mountain Poems* (1973) and *On First Looking Down from Lion's Gate Bridge* (1974), both of which were

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7. Barbour, "Andrew Suknaski," 354.

8. Stephen Scobie, "Introduction," in *The Land They Gave Away* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982), 11.

9. Jars Balan, "Voices from the Canadian Steppes: Ukrainian Elements in Andrew Suknaski's Poetry," *Studia Ucrainica* 4 (1988): 126.

revised and reissued in 1976. It was the second edition of *Wood Mountain Poems* that became Suknaski's breakthrough work. Published by a major press—Macmillan of Canada—it was “widely and favourably reviewed in Canadian newspapers and periodicals, establishing Suknaski as an important new voice from the Prairies.”<sup>10</sup> He became well known in Canadian literary circles, not merely as an up-and-coming poet with potential but as one who had fully emerged “as an important poetic voice in Western Canada.”<sup>11</sup>

One of the most significant early responses to *Wood Mountain Poems* was Mandel's “Writing West: On the Road to Wood Mountain,” which examined Suknaski's poetry through the lens of literary regionalism. Mandel argued that while “the theoretical basis of literary regionalism is less firm than the historical or geographical ... a sense persists that writers work out of locale or area, boundaries of some sort defining sensibility.”<sup>12</sup> From this general premise he went on to articulate a personal sense of prairie writing as “writing west.”<sup>13</sup> He conceived of it as a state of mind, a sensibility, rather than a geographical identification. While he spoke of his own perspective as a prairie poet, he focused much of his critical attention on Suknaski's *Wood Mountain Poems* and admitted that when he first heard Suknaski read from the manuscript, he thought: “that's the book I should have written, its terrible authenticity, its powerful directness, its voices and places echoing in its time and truth.”<sup>14</sup> For Mandel the sensibility in question is based on the fact that “the writer's subject *is* his own dilemma, writing west,”<sup>15</sup> and it is this sentiment that is poetically represented in Suknaski's “West Central Pub” in *Wood Mountain Poems*. According to Mandel, “the poem is about identity, change, process, the poet. And it deploys with beautiful subtlety several prairie motifs.... And it's that sense of identity or patchwork, a *now* patched up of *then* and no longer the same, that gives Suknaski's work its authenticity.”<sup>16</sup> Generally speaking, this attention to regional concerns and the way in which the prairie voice expressed the prairie

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10. Ibid., 122.

11. Scobie, “Introduction,” 11.

12. Mandel, “Writing West,” 39.

13. Ibid., 41.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., 48.

16. Ibid., 50.

poet's identity became increasingly important throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Discussing their roles as prairie writers with Margaret Laurence in 1970, Kroetsch said, "You and I, because we are western Canadians, are involved in making a new literature out of a new experience."<sup>17</sup> George Melnyk, the founder of NeWest Press, echoed these sentiments, situating Suknaski's poetry within a growing sense of regionalism:

[Suknaski] writes about the people, places and history of the West in his poetry.... *Wood Mountain Poems* was such a breakthrough because it was so deeply multicultural in orientation and so conscious of place. It celebrated in poetry what had not been celebrated before. It was part of the great upsurge in Canadian nationalism and regionalism in writing during the 1970s.<sup>18</sup>

Suknaski's *Wood Mountain Poems* was a timely and powerful contribution to the burgeoning prairie literary identity.

Spak's film, *Wood Mountain Poems*, released in 1978, expressed in many ways the excitement aroused by Suknaski's poetry at the time. While it focused primarily on his *Wood Mountain* collection, it drew on the larger body of Suknaski's work up till then. It provided biographical and geographical information about Suknaski and the town of Wood Mountain and gave the poet an opportunity to talk about his own past and upbringing as sources of his poetry. The movie visually presented many details from Suknaski's writings and attempted to trace the roots of the stories that form the basis of his literary corpus. It showed Suknaski offering an alternate vision of the history of Wood Mountain and its people. In the movie one resident even says: "I know for a fact that, I'd say, ninety percent of the stuff in [Suknaski's poems] is true." As a critical statement about Suknaski's work, the film situates Suknaski's poetry within a regional and biographical perspective. A reviewer of the *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Canadian Writers Since 1960* (1987) also placed Suknaski's writing within the prairie heritage: "Andy Suknaski turned his attention to his roots in *the prairies*."<sup>19</sup> In the 1970s

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17. Robert Kroetsch, "A Conversation with Margaret Laurence," in *Trace: Prairie Writers on Writing*, ed. Sproxton, 19.

18. George Melnyk, "Re: Questions on Suknaski answered," e-mail to Lindy A. Ledohowski, 1 September 2005.

19. Marty Gervais, "Dictionary Defines Canadian Writers," *The Windsor Star*, 17 January 1987.

Suknaski's writing moved away from avant-garde concrete poetry towards a poetics of prairie regionalism.

The poetry collected in *Wood Mountain Poems*, *The Ghosts Call you Poor*, *East of Myloona*, and *In the Name of Narid: New Poems* shared a similar conversational style located in a specific regional context. Balan points out that Suknaski "generally presents his tales in one of two forms: either in a documentary manner in a narrative poem, or in a kind of dramatic dialogue in a verse portrait."<sup>20</sup> Both these methods rely heavily on oral traditions and an anecdotal sense of history, in keeping with a sense of stylistic plurality and experimentation that characterized much Canadian writing after the centennial. Furthermore, for a variety of reasons, the 1970s and 1980s were marked by a growing appreciation and demand for orature. It can be argued that the impetus for this type of written literature grew out of the recognition of the shocking lack of Native writing in Canada. Since Native Canadian literary traditions are oral, writers in the 1970s began to capture that sense of orality to fill the literary void of Aboriginal representation. One reason for the growing appreciation and demand for Native literature at that time was the widespread recognition that traditional constructions of history had been biased and exclusionary. Oral histories and oral literatures offered a counter-narrative to the official versions. The first anthologies of Native Canadian writing began to appear in the 1970s, including *Sweetgrass* (1972), *Wisdom of Indian Poetry* (1976), *Many Voices* (1977), and *Native Sons* (1977). Suknaski's poetry offered oral histories that augmented and challenged the standard discourse. As well, many of his poems dealt with Native traditions as they intersected his own personal and familial sense of place and history. Melnyk makes this point when he says that Suknaski "add[s] the aboriginal dimension and the Asian dimension since he has a profound sympathy for the marginalized in history."<sup>21</sup> With the rise of poststructuralist and deconstructionist theories, the idea of metanarrative began to decline, and it became possible to write alternative versions of history in experimental form. The growing popularity of oral/aural literature drew increasing attention to Suknaski's lingual approach and sympathy for the Aboriginal perspective.

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20. Balan, "Voices from the Canadian Steppes," 123.

21. Melnyk, "Re: Questions on Suknaski answered."



Suknaski directly addresses the interplay between his own European heritage and the Aboriginal traditions that shaped his youth:

For me *Wood Mountain Poems* is a return to ancestral roots in my birthplace ... and of trying to find the meaning of home ... [dealing with] a vaguely divided guilt; guilt for what happened to the Indian (his land taken) imprisoned on his reserve; and guilt because to feel this guilt is a betrayal of what you ethnically are—the son of a homesteader and his wife who must be rightfully honoured in one's mythology.<sup>22</sup>

These words show Suknaski's sensitivity to post-colonial issues born out of his "vaguely divided guilt" associated with prairie settlement. His attention to the prairie heritage and awareness of the need for an Aboriginal voice in Canadian letters made Suknaski's regionally focused poetry popular in the 1970s and 1980s. His work addressed issues pertaining to Aboriginal literature and history, and did so in a dialogic and oral form. He expressed many of the concerns facing the Canadian community at large and the literary community in particular.

Thus, part of Suknaski's appeal in those two decades lay in his way of combining regionalism with conversational poetics. Kroetsch asserted that "the great sub-text of prairie literature is our oral tradition"<sup>23</sup> and that "the poetry of Andy Suknaski acknowledges a huge and continuing debt to the oral tradition."<sup>24</sup> Suknaski's poetry emerged just when this oral tradition was being recognized and validated in mainstream literary culture. His poetry, which constructed regional specificity in combination with orality, was read as deconstructing established models in a way that was explicitly linked with the prairie identity.

Another form of writing, often linked with the Prairies, that was attracting increasing attention in literary circles at the time was the long poem. While the long poem as a genre has a long history in Canada, contemporary long poems are distinct in form and structure from the early Canadian narrative poems. *The Long Poem Anthology* (1979), edited by Michael Ondaatje, and *A/Long Prairie Lines: An Anthology of Long Prairie Poems* (1989), edited by Daniel Lenoski, which includes some poetry by Suknaski, testify to the growing importance of the new long

22. Andrew Suknaski, *Wood Mountain Poems*, ed. Al Purdy (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976), 124.

23. Kroetsch, "The Moment," 6.

24. Ibid.

poem in the seventies and eighties. The self-reflective long poem was closely linked to the place and space of the Prairies and contributed to the growing validation of literary regionalism. In 1983 Ann Munton argued that the long poem is a natural vehicle for literary regionalism because it is "a form big enough to encompass such matters, open and free enough with which to experiment."<sup>25</sup> Thanks to the thematic and geographical links that tie many of Suknaski's poems together, much of his work can be read as fitting the long-poem form. In fact, a few of his works, such as his *Montage for an Interstellar Cry*, are accepted explicitly as long poems. Munton pointed out that Suknaski "write[s] cycles of short poems, linked by their relation to place, to language, to an attempted understanding of self, and self in relation to environment"<sup>26</sup> and thus situated Suknaski with Mandel and Kroetsch as a poet of the prairie long poem. By situating his work within a genre that was recognized not only as significant but also as important in expressing a hitherto marginalized prairie regional identity, she gave his writings legitimacy. In these ways Suknaski's writing speaks out of a particular moment in literary history informed by and informing a larger socio-political consciousness in Canada. His play with regionalism, structure, and orature, and their interactions help to explain why Suknaski's works were included in the first Oxford anthology of Canadian literature.<sup>27</sup>

Another reason is that prairie regionalism and its literary conventions dovetailed with broader postmodern concerns. As Munton pointed out: "Although regionalism in literary terms seems to be as established in Canada as the literature itself, it is today as much a part of that phenomenon known as post-modernism as is the concern with structures, the breath line, deconstruction, the foregrounding of language and the aesthetic of lingual failures."<sup>28</sup> The diction, style, tone, form, and themes of Suknaski's poetry were seen as postmodern developments, as Cooley observed:

A period of high modernism looked for a poetry that could never be written on the Prairies: it wanted a tight metaphysical poetry

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25. Ann Munton, "The Structural Horizons of Prairie Poetics: The Long Poem, Eli Mandel, Andrew Suknaski, and Robert Kroetsch," *Dalhousie Review* 63, no. 1 (1983): 70.

26. *Ibid.*, 71.

27. Russell Brown and Donna Bennet, eds., *A New Anthology of Canadian Literature in English* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002).

28. Munton, "The Structural Horizons of Prairie Poetics," 70.

celebrating irony, paradox, ambiguity—a poetry that is essentially European in its allusiveness. So what do you do? If this is the kind of poem you must write in order to be a poet in the '20s and '30s and '40s and '50s, how do you write poetry out of the Prairie? I think you don't. A different aesthetic has got to emerge that will allow you to say "I can write poetry about these things." So that Suknaski can write his *Wood Mountain Poems* and you can say "Yeah, okay."<sup>29</sup>

After peaking in the mid-1980s Suknaski's popularity began to decline rapidly. By the early 1990s his name disappeared from the mainstream literary scene in Canada. His last book, *Silk Trail*, was published in 1985 to favourable reviews, such as the following: "Andrew Suknaski's *Silk Trail* represents a departure in form and content for the poet.... Here lines reach across pages and pay more than lip-service to craft and structure."<sup>30</sup> The 1985 winter issue of *Dinosaur Review* was devoted to Suknaski. However, Cooley's collection *Inscriptions: A Prairie Poetry Anthology* and Ted Stone's *Riding the Northern Range: Poems from the Last Best-West* (1993) were the last anthologies to include Suknaski as a prairie writer. Thereafter his poems appeared virtually unnoticed, except by critics who situated him within "ethnic" discourse or by a small group of Suknaski enthusiasts.

Despite Suknaski's claim that his ethnicity is that of the entire community of Wood Mountain, he is not always seen that way. In the poem "Indian Site on the Edge of Tonita Pasture" in *Wood Mountain Poems* the speaker announces:

i claim these things  
and this ancestral space to move through and beyond  
stapled to the four cardinal directions  
this is my right  
to chronicle the meaning of these vast plains  
in a geography of blood  
and failure  
making them live.<sup>31</sup>

29. Dennis Cooley, *The Vernacular Muse* (Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1987), 26–7.

30. Judith Fitzgerald, "Of the Great and Grating," *Toronto Star*, 14 June 1986.

31. *Wood Mountain Poems*, 78.

Suknaski repeats this sentiment in Spak's film:

When we are born, it's in our genes; we bear the whole history of the world. We bear the whole history of, you know, our particular culture, our background that we grow out of. If I had to talk about myself, I would say, you know, all the things that are Wood Mountain—the multicultural backgrounds, the Indian heritage here, the Metis, the different ethnic groups here.... I mean, I claim all these things as my own ancestral past, by virtue of having grown up here, having lived here.<sup>32</sup>

Although Suknaski sees himself as the beneficiary of multiple cultures, critics increasingly viewed his writing in a specifically Ukrainian homestead framework. The tendency to see him as a Ukrainian-Canadian ethnic writer arose as early as 1979, when he participated in a conference on ethnicity in Canadian writing in Edmonton. The conference proceedings were published three years later.<sup>33</sup> Suknaski's poetry appeared in an anthology of Ukrainian-Canadian writing since the Second World War in 1987.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, Balan argued that "the most conspicuous Slavic feature of Suknaski's writing is his extensive use of Ukrainian themes,"<sup>35</sup> and he catalogued the Ukrainian words and references that "pop up in unexpected places in many Suknaski poems."<sup>36</sup> While he hesitated to construct Suknaski as solely an ethnic poet, Balan was one of the first critics to regard Suknaski through the lens of ethnicity. He admitted that Suknaski's poetry cannot be reduced to its ethnic content but pointed out that Suknaski's cultural and linguistic heritage does play a role in his poetry. "In examining how his Slavic origins have influenced his writing, no suggestion is made that [Suknaski] is primarily an 'ethnic' poet, though his background is strongly reflected in his work."<sup>37</sup>

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32. Harvey Spak, *Wood Mountain Poems* (Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, 1978), film.

33. Jars Balan, ed., *Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1982).

34. Jars Balan and Yuri Klynovy, *Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada Since the Second World War* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1987), 273–81.

35. Balan, "Voices from the Canadian Steppes," 123.

36. *Ibid.*, 124.

37. *Ibid.*, 128.

The few essays that examined Suknaski's work in the 1990s followed Balan in situating Suknaski within ethnic discourse. Although originally Suknaski was not seen as an ethnic writer, as his pre-eminence in literary circles declined, he was increasingly viewed as a representative of multiculturalism. At the 1979 conference Suknaski talked about his linguistic otherness as a native speaker of Ukrainian: "My first years were spent conversing in Polish and Ukrainian. We spoke Ukrainian in our household. And the Ukrainian I learnt often had Polish words.... Writing poetry is an evasion of trying to construct one proper English sentence with punctuation."<sup>38</sup> While he did not want to be seen solely as an ethnic writer nor consider himself to be purely Ukrainian, critics began to treat him as both. At a 1985 symposium in Ottawa, for example, Suknaski was for the first time publicly identified as a "Canadian-Ukrainian" writer. The *Ottawa Citizen* described the event as follows: "About ten Canadian-Ukrainian poets signed copies of their books for the National Library in a ceremony Friday as part of a three-day symposium at the University of Ottawa on contemporary Ukrainian poetry. Canadian poets whose books are on display at the National Library this month include Andrew Suknaski of Saskatchewan."<sup>39</sup> Abraham claimed that "Canada appears as a land in cultural limbo" in which Suknaski's poetry is an "attempt to define an identity for the cultural orphans to populate Canada's multicultural dimension"<sup>40</sup> and focused on the expressions of the "extended search for identity"<sup>41</sup> in Suknaski's poetry. He believed that Suknaski's "adherence to the patchwork fabric of multiculturalism could well herald the future of Canadian literature."<sup>42</sup> Melnyk concurred with Abraham's comment, referring to Suknaski as "a forefather of the current generation of poets."<sup>43</sup> A multicultural anthology, *Making a Difference*,<sup>44</sup> also included Suknaski's poetry. In the early 1990s Donna

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38. Cited in Balan, "Ethnicity and Identity: The Question of One's Literacy Passport," 69-70.

39. Burt Heward, "Carleton to Honor Beattie," *The Ottawa Citizen*, 5 October 1985.

40. Michael Abraham, "Cultural Orphans and Wood Mountain: The Poetry of Andrew Suknaski," *Prairie Journal of Canadian Literature* 14 (1990): 24.

41. *Ibid.*, 25.

42. *Ibid.*, 33.

43. Melnyk, "Re: Questions on Suknaski answered."

44. Smaro Kamboureli, ed., *Making a Difference: Canadian Multicultural Literature* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996).



Bennett stated that “since the 1960s recent immigrants have powerfully influenced English-Canadian literature, not by becoming assimilated, nor by creating some slight modification of English-Canadian culture, but by producing major literary works that have challenged the traditional scope of the Canadian canon.”<sup>45</sup> If this was evident then, it is even clearer now, some ten years later.

Two later essays also explored Suknaski’s work through the multicultural paradigm. Dawn Morgan approached him from the position that “the poetry of Canadian writer Andrew Suknaski illustrates very well literature’s relation to multicultural issues and debate.”<sup>46</sup> She claimed that “the historical process of multiculturalism is worked out discursively—that is, through the changes in language and literary conventions that are required to accommodate changing social realities”<sup>47</sup> and concluded that the value of Suknaski’s poetry “is that it enables reading and analysis along the continuum of text and world, situating literature in history and tying both to the very grounds of meaning that continue, thankfully, to shift beneath our feet.”<sup>48</sup> Morgan clearly tied Suknaski’s structural and linguistic innovations to his ethnic status and sees in that link the fundamental relationship between multiculturalism as a social construct and as a literary manifestation. Tatiana Nazarenko’s article<sup>49</sup> was more specific in situating Suknaski within a Ukrainian literary tradition. With Balan’s help, she traced the roots of visual poetry in the Ukrainian tradition and then argued for the transnational influence of Ukrainian immigrants on the development of visual poetry in Canada. She believed that the Canadian policy of multiculturalism has allowed Ukrainian-Canadian visual poets to develop a Canadian concrete poetic style reminiscent of its Ukrainian roots.<sup>50</sup>

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45. Donna Bennett, “English Canada’s Postcolonial Complexities,” *Essays on Canadian Writing* 51–52 (1993–94): 188.

46. Dawn Morgan, “Andrew Suknaski’s ‘Wood Mountain Time’ and the Chronotope of Multiculturalism,” *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature* 29 (1996): 35.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*, 44.

49. Tatiana Nazarenko, “Ukrainian-Canadian Visual Poetry: Traditions and Innovations,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 89–126.

50. *Ibid.*, 90.

By the turn of the century Suknaski was considered only in a Ukrainian-Canadian literary context or in limited classroom discussions. Except for Deborah Keahey's peripheral reference to Suknaski's poem "Homestead, 1914: SEC. 32, TP4, RGE2, W3RD, SASK" to make a point about the difficulty in locating "home" in prairie usage,<sup>51</sup> no mainstream Canadian critic even mentions his poetry. Keahey's study of the construction of "home" in prairie literature does not deal with Suknaski's work, although she is obsessed with the theme. W.H. New included a biographical sketch of Suknaski in his *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (1986), but not in his 1993 *Biographical Guide to Canadian Poets*. Furthermore, although the first book-length study of Ukrainian-Canadian literature in English focuses on many themes that inform Suknaski's work, there is no mention of him.<sup>52</sup> Despite the wide attention and enthusiasm he received in the 1970s and 1980s, Suknaski seems to be completely forgotten today. How can we account for this?

One obvious reason is that Suknaski has stopped writing. At present he is neither writing poetry nor producing critical commentaries, and his earlier supporters are no longer writing about him. Asked why Suknaski was not included in the two revised editions of the Oxford anthologies of Canadian literature (in 1990 and 2002), Russell Brown, one of the editors, replied: "The simple answer is that by the time of the second edition Andy didn't seem to us to be being paid as much attention to by either the critics or the teachers of Canadian literature as he had been in the early 1980s, when he was seen as an emerging voice (and being endorsed by enthusiasts like Eli Mandel)."<sup>53</sup> Mandel, who died in 1990, is no longer an influential figure on the Canadian literary stage. Other early supporters, such as Kroetsch and Bissett, are no longer writing on subjects that encompass Suknaski's work.

The other part of the answer lies in Suknaski's poems themselves. Even at the height of his popularity, critics noted flaws in his style. In discussing *Wood Mountain Poems*, Barbour observed that "they slacken and fall short of their goal because [Suknaski] has not yet found the

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51. Deborah Keahey, *Making it Home: Place in Canadian Prairie Literature* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1998), 3.

52. See Sonia Mycak, *Canuke Literature: Critical Essays on Canadian Ukrainian Writing* (Huntington, N.Y.: Nova Science Publications, 2001).

53. Russell Brown, "Re: Suknaski," e-mail to Lindy A. Ledohowski, 15 April 2003.

proper voice for this rich material."<sup>54</sup> He argued that the reason for this failure is that "[Suknaski's] romanticism often pushes him toward a rhetorical overstatement that tumbles into bathos more often than it climbs to pathos."<sup>55</sup> M. Travis Lane pointed out that Suknaski's "real talent is not poetic"<sup>56</sup> and that he would have been a better novelist. The excitement with his earlier work appears to have been generated by its promise rather than its achievement. Suknaski never realized the potential the critics saw in him. In closing his biographical entry on Suknaski, Barbour wrote: "As long as he keeps working, we can expect new and exciting dreams."<sup>57</sup> In a similar vein, Balan closed his 1988 essay with the comment that "much more can and will be said about Andrew Suknaski's poetry, as he has many productive years ahead of him."<sup>58</sup> When Suknaski failed to meet these expectations and fell silent, the critics lost interest in him.

In one of his last published works, a poem-essay written with Kristjana Gunnars, Suknaski is painted as a madman who will not or cannot write. Gunnars says about him: "The artist is a poet. It was as I had feared. The artist was mad."<sup>59</sup> She also calls him the "suffering artist" and the "self-destructive artist."<sup>60</sup> The earlier Suknaski who was touted as a new voice from the Prairies has been replaced by the stereotype of the unproductive madman. Instead of seeing him as an emerging voice, we must treat him as a spent voice.

If the story of Suknaski's literary legacy is still being written, will he become part of the Canadian canon as future scholars take a retrospective look at twentieth-century Canadian literature? At one time a secure place for Suknaski in any comprehensive listing of important Canadian writers seemed quite likely. Although critical interest in Suknaski evaporated as soon as he ceased producing new poetry, his work is still interesting from a historical perspective as an expression of a larger regional or oral movement in Canadian literature. His work may even regain some of its

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54. Barbour, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 356.

55. Ibid.

56. M. Travis Lane, "The Difference," *The Fiddlehead* 131 (1982): 72.

57. Barbour, "Andrew Suknaski," 357.

58. Balan, "Voices from the Canadian Steppes," 128.

59. Kristjana Gunnars and Andrew Suknaski, "Essay Parcels from Andrew Suknaski," in *Trace: Prairie Writers on Writing*, ed. Sproxton, 188.

60. Ibid., 189.

popularity, and through it, a degree of cultural currency or canonicity, if his poetry continues to be taught at university as part of the Ukrainian-Canadian tradition or the multicultural framework and if Suknaski enthusiasts continue to write about it.

According to critics, the issue of race is drawing increasing attention in Canadian literary criticism:

the fact is that racialization, the practice of applying racial categories to people or things, has taken and is taking place in the realm of Canadian literary culture. Witness that the essays gathered here refer commonly to categories such as "African Canadian," "Asian Canadian," and "Native Canadian" literatures. These categories have become institutions, and the traditions that they define have emerged as disciplinary objects of knowledge in Canadian literary culture, particularly during the last decade of the twentieth century.<sup>61</sup>

The new focus on race in Canadian literary and cultural studies may confer a fresh relevance on Suknaski's ethnic thematics.

Often authors achieve longevity simply by virtue of one particular work that "bear[s] a repeated examination" and is "repeatedly cited and recited, translated, taught and imitated." Some authors are known only through a single seminal work. Most of Suknaski's anthologized poetry is taken from *Wood Mountain Poems*. The image of "patches seeming three layers deep" in "West Central Pub"<sup>62</sup> is an image open to readings through both a regional<sup>63</sup> and a multicultural<sup>64</sup> lens.

Cooley writes that "[b]eing contingent, writing can never be a masterpiece outside of history, or enter a permanent canon, since these terms are themselves located in ideology and reflect the preferences of those who at any given time constitute themselves, or are otherwise constituted, as authorities and whose estimations can and do give way to their successors'.<sup>65</sup> This understanding of canonicity as being contingent upon history, taken in conjunction with Smith's idea of continual intertextuality at the basis of canonicity, give us a picture of Suknaski's literary career. In the varying literary trends—from concrete poetry, to

61. Daniel Coleman and Donald Goellnicht, "Introduction: 'Race' into the Twenty-First Century," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 75 (2002): 1–2.

62. Suknaski, *Wood Mountain Poems* (1976), 77.

63. Mandel, "Writing West," 39.

64. Abraham, "Cultural Orphans and Wood Mountain," 28.

65. Cooley, "The Vernacular Muse in Prairie Poetry," 181.

orality, to regionalism, to multiculturalism—Suknaski's works have played into and contributed to defining "the preferences" of rotating and successive "authorities," but that has not been enough to guarantee him a sustained critical readership; his poetry remains on the margins of canonicity. His writings were well received in their specifically constituted moments in history, and then, because he stopped writing, critics seemed to hold their collective breath, waiting for him to resume. Despite his silence, at the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, critics have begun to see value in his works through a racialized context.

Within the rubric of a Canadian national literature, regionalism and multiculturalism are now, at the current moment in history, more than mere token ideas to be considered alongside an official and recognized canon. Instead, these aspects belong to the very definition of Canadian literature. If this is true, then Suknaski's works, which speak loudly about place and identity, will continue to be read, anthologized, studied, and enjoyed as long as the current "preferences" and "ideology" underpin Canadian literary studies.



# *Voluntary Brotherhood: Confraternities of Laymen in Early Modern Ukraine*

*By Iaroslav Isaievych*

The study of the confraternity movement in early modern Ukraine is vital for our understanding of the unique place Ukrainian culture and society occupies between Eastern and Western Christianity. Ukraine and Belarus were the only countries where Orthodox lay confraternities developed, and they were active during a crucial period of social and cultural change. The confraternities introduced a spirit of competition between the two Ruthenian churches—Orthodox and Uniate—and contributed to an increased pace of Ruthenian social and cultural growth. In the larger cities, schools attached to the Orthodox confraternities introduced accessible higher education and disseminated European humanist ideas, as confraternity presses promoted the development of scholarship and literature.

The author of this comprehensive study, Iaroslav Isaievych, is one of Ukraine's leading historians and director of the Institute of Ukrainian Studies (Lviv) of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. He is the author and editor of many publications on the history of Ukraine, Poland, and Belarus. One of his particular fields of interest and scholarly endeavor is the history of printing and book publishing in Ukraine.

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## VOLUNTARY BROTHERHOOD

Confraternities of Laymen in  
Early Modern Ukraine



Iaroslav Isaievych

## Fostering National Identity in Ukraine: Regional Differences in the Attitude to National Symbols

*Ilya Khineyko*

There is no country that does not have its own symbols, for they “are needed to point out the presence or the power of the state.”<sup>1</sup> In the era of the nation-state, state symbols tend to be identical with national symbols: they are thought to be a visual manifestation of both the state and the nation the state represents. Benedict Anderson defines nation as an imagined community because its members “never know of their fellow-members ... yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion.”<sup>2</sup> The question here is in what way and by what means the image of communion is conveyed to the minds of the members of a nation. Symbols are a very important part of this process.

Despite the great variety of symbols that may serve as markers of national identity, those that connect the state and the nation most closely are the national flag, coat of arms or emblem, and anthem. We should add national holidays to this list, particularly Independence Day, which is especially important for countries like Ukraine that gained independence recently. The dual purpose of national symbols is understood by the state elites. For example, an Indian governmental publication stated, “The National Flag, the National Anthem and the National Emblem are

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1. Balthas Seibold, “Borrowing a Uniting Concept: The Use of Nationalist Strategies by the European Union” (Munich: University of Munich, 1999), 4, at <[http://bseibold.cocos-net.de/politik\\_eu\\_and\\_nationalism.pdf](http://bseibold.cocos-net.de/politik_eu_and_nationalism.pdf)>.

2. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 9.

the three symbols through which an independent country proclaims its identity and sovereignty ... they reflect the entire background, thought and culture of a nation.”<sup>3</sup>

John Breuilly reflected on the nation building and nationalism of new states by identifying several tools that are used to create a new national identity. One of the tools he identified is cultural symbolism, which manifests itself in flags, rallies, anthems, marches, and pictures of the leaders “with which nationalist regimes seek to imbue the population.”<sup>4</sup> He also noted that “the impact of all these things is largely unknown.”<sup>5</sup> His first statement implies that only new, “nationalist” regimes engage in such activities, whereas old, established nation-states get along without them, but this would be misleading.<sup>6</sup> Breuilly is certainly correct to point out that there is a lack of research on how state-promoted symbolism is received by the population.

Traditionally, studies on national symbols have focused on *what* the national symbols are, that is, on their content, as well as the context in which they are used. Such an approach, however legitimate, has one important setback: it overlooks the issue of reception, namely, whether and to what extent national symbols are accepted by the population. If there is a sufficient level of acceptance of national symbols and they are not contested by an alternative set of symbols, there may be a viable national identity. As Anthony Giddens put it, “a nation-state is a ‘conceptual’ community in a way in which traditional states were not. The sharing of a common language, and a common symbolic historicity, are the most thorough-going ways of achieving this.”<sup>7</sup>

The aim of this article is to examine the popular perception of Ukrainian national symbols. It is well known that in East European post-Communist societies the transition from Communism to democracy was

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3. Cited after Raymond Firth, *Symbols: Public and Private* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973), 341.

4. John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 277.

5. *Ibid.*

6. For a critique of such a viewpoint, see Taras Kuzio, “‘Nationalising States’ or Nation Building? A Review of the Theoretical Literature and Empirical Evidence,” *Nations and Nationalism* 7, no. 2 (2001): 135–54.

7. Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence*, volume 2 of *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 219.

accompanied by the redefining of national symbols. By placing the Ukrainian case in the East European context, I shall examine the common and distinguishing features of this process. To understand the possible ideological reasons why the new symbols are rejected, a short history of the Ukrainian flag, anthem, coat of arms, and holidays would be helpful. Yet, a study of the perception of national symbols in Ukraine must take into account the regional peculiarities of the country. Hence I examine the question of national symbols from a regional viewpoint, surveying the data from the easternmost and the westernmost parts of Ukraine, regions that are often considered to be in total opposition to each other.

## Revising National Symbols

Raymond Firth notes that "a change in the type of government may be symbolized by the abandonment of the old flag," and "the creation of a national flag is ... part of the modern political symbolism of nation-making."<sup>8</sup> While this statement is applicable to most of the countries of Eastern Europe in their transition from Communism to democracy, the particular route a nation chooses in regard to new symbols depends on many circumstances.

Within the East European context changing national symbols was often one of the first steps on the path of post-Communist transition. The apparent ease with which the change was made can be attributed to several factors. During the Communist takeover of established states in the late forties, the new authorities merely modified the existing national symbols. Secondly, the modifications were never supported or formally approved by the population. Finally, the original versions of national symbols were often appropriated by the opposition to the Communist regime.<sup>9</sup> Romania and Bulgaria discarded Communist symbols right after the collapse of Communism in 1989. In Poland the original version of the coat of arms with the crown was reinstated.

Although the Soviet republics had their own "decorative elements of statehood," including a flag, anthem, and coat of arms, unlike the East European countries, they could not rely on them. Devoid of historical roots and almost indistinguishable from each other, the national symbols of the Soviet republics were not perceived as having independent value

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8. *Symbols*, 438.

9. See, for example, Longina Jakubowska, "Political Drama in Poland: The Use of National Symbols," *Anthropology Today* 6, no. 4 (August 1990): 10-13.

and therefore could not be used as markers of a new national identity. After the collapse of the Soviet Union all republics adopted either newly created or old, pre-Soviet symbols to declare their new status as independent states. In their approach to the issue of state symbols, the post-Soviet states can be grouped into three categories. First, the Baltic states, Georgia, and Armenia had a relatively easy change thanks to their pre-Soviet tradition of independence and a societal consensus on what the new state symbols should be.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, new state symbols of the republics of Central Asia had to be created with few or no historical precedents. This made the symbols somewhat "neutral" and hence their adoption less problematic. The third category included Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. Their new national symbols were "contested" and sparked a great deal of controversy in society. All three countries faced similar challenges. Their new state symbols were pre-Soviet and had a controversial historical legacy. Communists in parliament refused to endorse the new symbols, leaving them with a semi-official status. The allegations against them were essentially identical everywhere and stemmed from what Karen Cerulo termed the "dual referent phenomenon," which arises when a state symbol is perceived within two opposing ideological frameworks.<sup>11</sup> In the case of the three Slavic republics, the opponents of the post-Communist national symbols argued that they were compromised by the fact that they had been used by pro-German forces during the Second World War. Although the struggle over national symbols started from the same premises, each country eventually came up with its own solution.

In Russia the struggle ended in a compromise under Putin in 2000. The music of the old Soviet anthem was reinstated with a new text, and the flag and coat of arms were left intact. In Belarus the old flag and coat of arms, perceived by many Belarusians as too "nationalistic" and alien, were replaced by slightly modified Soviet ones, as the referendum of May 1995 required. The issue aroused strong emotions as is evident from a newspaper account of the removal of the post-independence Belarusian

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10. Obviously, in the case of Latvia and Estonia the consensus was threatened by the presence of a large Russian-speaking minority. However, the problem there was not the new state symbols but the state itself: Russians were either excluded from it by the new citizenship laws or did not consider it their own.

11. Karen A. Cerulo, *Identity Designs: The Sights and Sounds of a Nation* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 162.



flag from the presidential palace in Minsk: someone from the presidential administration tore up the white-red-white flag.<sup>12</sup> Although the adoption of new national symbols was no less painful in Ukraine, the pre-Soviet national symbols were kept, and there was not even a partial return of the Soviet symbols.

## Ukraine's National Symbols

Adopted in 1996, article 20 of the Ukrainian Constitution stipulated that "the state symbols of Ukraine are the State Flag of Ukraine, the State Coat of Arms of Ukraine and the State Anthem of Ukraine."<sup>13</sup> The succeeding text further defined only the blue-and-yellow national flag and the music to the national anthem. The great coat of arms and the words of the national anthem were to be approved later. This indecision was no coincidence. While the blue-and-yellow flag was endorsed relatively easily, the coat of arms and the words of the anthem "stirred immense controversy."<sup>14</sup> The roots of this controversy were to be found in the past use of these symbols.<sup>15</sup>

The centrepiece of Ukraine's coat of arms, the trident, dates back to the times of Kyivan Rus' and is believed to be the insignia of Volodymyr the Great. The blue-and-yellow flag was used widely by the Cossacks in the seventeenth century.<sup>16</sup> On 22 March 1918 the Central Rada adopted them as the national symbols of Ukraine. However, the opponents of the blue-and-yellow flag and the trident were concerned about the more recent history of these symbols: the fact that they had been used during the German occupation of Ukraine and had become associated with Nazi atrocities during the Second World War.<sup>17</sup> Such discourse is well

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12. Astrid Sahm, "Political Culture and National Symbols: Their Impact on the Belarusian Nation-Building Process," *Nationalities Papers* 27, no. 4 (December 1999), 657.

13. *The Constitution of Ukraine*, available at <[www.rada.kiev.ua/const/conengl.htm](http://www.rada.kiev.ua/const/conengl.htm)>.

14. Kataryna Wolczuk, *The Moulding of Ukraine: The Constitutional Politics of State Formation* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2001), 230.

15. A more detailed account of the history and controversy surrounding the coat of arms of Ukraine can be found in Wilfried Jilge, "Staatssymbolik und nationale Identität in der postkommunistischen Ukraine," *Ethnos-Nation* 6 (1998): 83–115.

16. See, for example, "Istoriia ukrainskoi regionalnoi symvoliky," *Imenem zakonu*, 18 August 1995.

17. Such allegations were not limited to the post-Soviet context. Serbs in Croatia tore down flags, boards, and so on with the Croatian national symbol, the checkerboard (Sahovnica), which they associated with the atrocities committed by the Ustashi during the

exemplified in the following passage taken from the Web site of Emancipation, a pro-Russian society based in the city of Kharkiv. "Ukrainian and German were the two state languages in Nazi-occupied Kharkov. The Russian language was outlawed. 'Our yellow-blue flag' [written in Ukrainian—I.Kh.] flapped in the wind, and the trident was on the hats of the policemen who hauled people away to execution sites. The people of Kharkov remember that."<sup>18</sup>

The problem with the national anthem was somewhat different. Unlike the blue-and-yellow flag or the trident, it was created relatively recently. The lyrics of the anthem "Shche ne vmerla Ukraina" (Ukraine Has not Perished Yet) were written by Pavlo Chubynsky in 1862. The second verse contained the word *moskali*, a derogatory name for Russians, which infuriated the left and seemed inappropriate and too "nationalistic" to the centre. As the text of the anthem was to be decided through competition, Parliament refused to endorse Chubynsky's text. A compromise was reached by including only Chubynsky's first verse in the anthem, and Parliament approved the lyrics on 6 March 2003.<sup>19</sup>

National holidays also convey a symbolic message of identity. In the Soviet Union state holidays, such as the October Revolution holiday (6–7 November), Labour Day, Army Day, and Constitution Day, were an important part of the regime's ideological justification. Only three holidays were ideologically neutral: New Year's Day, Victory Day, and Women's Day. Hence the Soviet calendar had to be drastically revised. Now Ukraine has the following state holidays: New Year's Day, Christmas, Women's Day, Labour Day, Victory Day, Easter, Constitution Day, and Independence Day. Thus, only a few holidays are really new and only Constitution and Independence Days draw their legitimacy from the state and are of interest to our study.

Parliament approved the blue-and-yellow flag, trident, and anthem as national symbols as early as 1992, but three years later an officer of the Ukrainian armed forces complained about the lack of respect for the new

Second World War (Ann E. Robertson "We, the People," part 1, *RFE/RL East European Perspectives* 14, no. 13 [26 June 2002], at <<http://www.rferl.org/eeepreport/2002/06/13-260602.html>>).

18. G.V. Makarov, "Virus samounichtozheniia," *Obedinenie za kulturno-iazыkovoe ravnopravie* website at <<http://ravnopravie.kharkov.ua/2003/s26.zip>>.

19. "Parliament Has Approved Ukraine's National Anthem," *Ukrainian Monitor*, 6 March 2003, at <<http://foreignpolicy.org.ua/eng/headlines/politics/parliament/index.shtml?id=1350>>.

symbols.<sup>20</sup> The issue of national symbols became a subject of academic debates. Taras Kuzio acknowledges the lack of support for the new symbols, but he believes that "the majority of Ukraine's population would, given time, support [them]."<sup>21</sup> Some Ukrainian analysts express doubts about the viability of the proposed symbols and point out that they are unacceptable to a significant proportion of the Ukrainian population. This point of view is elaborated by an expert of the Kyiv Centre of Political Technologies, Aleksei Tolpygo, who argues that symbols that are regarded with hostility by the population of eastern and southern Ukraine are a poor vehicle for strengthening the country's unity. He expresses serious doubts about the national flag: "this flag is the flag of one of the parties in today's Ukraine, not the flag of the whole nation.... I am convinced that some other flag, to which no one would object, should have been chosen." He goes on: "nationalists will reply: so what? As time passes society will come to accept it and everyone will consider it appropriate. This might be true, but the price will be too high, for in the following ten to twenty years ... instead of having a symbol that promotes unity, the Ukrainian state will have a symbol that hampers it."<sup>22</sup> There are two problems with this argument: first, it lacks empirical evidence on current attitudes towards national symbols, and secondly, it implies the existence of an antagonistic divide between "nationalistic" supporters of the blue-and-yellow flag and trident and their equally determined opponents.

The argument that Ukraine's new national symbols were introduced without public consent by an alliance of nationalists and the nomenklatura and are viewed with hostility by many Ukrainians is well known. But there have been no attempts to gauge Ukrainians' attitudes to the new symbols and to answer the simple questions what exactly is meant by "hostility" and how widespread is it at the popular level? It would be a mistake to approach the latter question from an all-Ukrainian perspective because of the great ethno-cultural and political disparity among the different regions of Ukraine.

There is a considerable amount of literature on regionalism in Ukraine. Between 1995 and 1999, before the 1999 presidential elections,

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20. "Natsionalna symbolika—oblychchia derzhavy," *Narodna armii*, 1995, no. 14. Cited in Taras Kuzio, *State and Nation Building in Ukraine* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 217.

21. Kuzio, *State and Nation Building*, 221.

22. Aleksei K. Tolpygo, "Ukrainskii put," in *Ukraina i Rossiia: Obshchestva i gosudarstva*, ed. Dmitrii E. Furman (Moscow: Izdatelstvo "Prava cheloveka," 1997), 178.

many works appeared on the subject of Ukraine's great ethno-cultural divide between east and west.<sup>23</sup> Later, other scholars, such as Yaroslav Hrytsak, challenged this view. Having analyzed the sociological data obtained from respondents in Lviv and Donetsk, Hrytsak came to the conclusion that "the differences between Lviv and Donetsk can be significant, but they are more imagined than real."<sup>24</sup> In other words, if one accepts the notion of a divided Ukraine, the exact nature of the division remains to be determined. Before analyzing the data on attitudes towards national symbols in my selected regions, let us take a brief look at their ethno-cultural profiles.

## Regional Profiles

The ethno-linguistic and historical background of the three eastern oblasts of Ukraine is quite different from that of the two western oblasts. The eastern oblasts have a large proportion of ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking Ukrainians, while the western oblasts are ethnically more homogeneous and predominantly Ukrainophone. Yet there are some internal variations in the ethno-cultural profile of the two regions. Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts belong to one historical region and have roughly the same number of ethnic Russians and a similar proportion of Russian speakers. Kharkiv Oblast belongs to the historical region of Slobozhanshchyna and has a higher proportion of Ukrainians. The two western oblasts also differ from each other, particularly in their history and religious composition. Although both oblasts were incorporated into Soviet Ukraine in 1945, Lviv Oblast had never been a part of the Russian Empire, whereas Rivne Oblast had been under Russian rule since the

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23. Andrew Wilson, *Ukrainian Nationalism in the 1990s: A Minority Faith* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See also Valerii Khmelko and Andrew Wilson, "Regionalism and Ethnic and Linguistic Cleavages in Ukraine," in *Contemporary Ukraine: Dynamics of Post-Soviet Transformation*, ed. Taras Kuzio (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 60–80; Dominique Arel, "Ukraine: The Temptation of the Nationalizing State," in *Political Culture and Civil Society in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, ed. Vladimir Tismaneanu (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), 157–88; and Dominique Arel and Valerii Khmelko, "The Russian Factor and Territorial Polarization in Ukraine," *The Harriman Institute Review* 9, nos. 1–2 (March 1996): 81–91.

24. Yaroslav Hrytsak, "National Identities in Post-Soviet Ukraine: The Case of Donetsk and Lviv," in *Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*, ed. Zvi Gitelman et al. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2000), 277.



partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteen century. This difference is reflected in the religious profile of the two oblasts: most of the population in Lviv Oblast belongs to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, while Rivne Oblast is predominantly Orthodox. The differences between the surveyed oblasts are represented in table 1 (the data on the nationality of the respondents in our sample is in parentheses).<sup>25</sup>

**Table 1: Ethno-linguistic Composition of the Sample Oblasts (%)**

Oblast	Ukrainians (2001 census)	Russians (2001 census)	Ukrainians with Ukrainian mother tongue (1989 census)
Lviv	94.8 (89.9)	3.6 (10.1)	99
Rivne	95.9 (90.5)	2.6 (6.0)	99
Donetsk	56.9 (58.8)	38.2 (35.3)	59
Luhansk	58 (58.5)	39 (35.8)	66
Kharkiv	70.7 (69.5)	25.6 (25.4)	79

Sources: "Pro kilnist i sklad naselennia za pidsumkamy Vseukrainskoho perepysu naselennia 2001 roku: Povidomlennia derzhavnoho komitetu statystyky Ukrainy," <http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/Perepis/PidsPer.html>. The 1989 census data is cited in *Ukraina i Rossiia: Obshchestva i gosudarstva*, ed. Furman, 90–1.

## Attitudes to National Symbols

I analyze the results of the 1999 Omnibus, an all-Ukrainian sociological survey conducted in October 1999 by the staff of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS). I examine only the data obtained in five oblasts: three in the east (Donetsk, Luhansk, and Kharkiv) and two in the west (Lviv and Rivne). Respondents were asked to identify their attitude to the state flag of Ukraine, the state coat of arms (trident), the state anthem of Ukraine, and the new national holidays (Independence Day). They were given four possible choices.<sup>26</sup> The results are presented in the tables below.

25. The sum of the data in the parentheses does not always equal 100, since some respondents indicated a nationality other than Russian or Ukrainian.

26. The exact Ukrainian phrasing was the following: I accept it (*ia ioho pryimaiu*), I am indifferent to it (*vin meni baiduzhyi*), I consider it to be imposed, it is alien to me (*ia vvazhaiu ioho naviazanym*, *vin meni chuzhyi*), no opinion (*ne vyznachylysia*).



**Table 2: What Is Your Attitude to the National Flag of Ukraine? (%)**

	Lviv	Rivne	Donetsk	Luhansk	Kharkiv	Average
Accept	95.7	88.1	69.9	39.6	37.3	66.1
Indifferent	1.4	11.9	20.6	49.1	45.8	25.8
Hostile	1.4	0.0	8.1	7.5	13.6	6.1
No opinion	1.4	0.0	1.5	3.8	3.4	2.0
No. of respondents	69	84	136	53	59	401
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: KIIS, questionnaire on-10-99, no. 17.

**Table 3: What Is Your Attitude to the Coat of Arms of Ukraine (Trident)? (%)**

	Lviv	Rivne	Donetsk	Luhansk	Kharkiv	Average
Accept	94.2	84.5	66.2	35.8	30.5	62.2
Indifferent	1.4	10.7	22.8	50.9	50.8	27.3
Hostile	2.9	2.4	9.6	7.5	13.6	7.2
No opinion	1.4	2.4	1.5	5.7	5.1	3.2
No. of respondents	69	84	136	53	59	401
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: KIIS, questionnaire on-10-99, no. 18.

**Table 4: What Is Your Attitude to the National Anthem of Ukraine? (%)**

	Lviv	Rivne	Donetsk	Luhansk	Kharkiv	Average
Accept	94.2	88.1	64.7	41.5	23.7	62.4
Indifferent	2.9	9.5	23.5	47.2	52.5	27.1
Hostile	1.4	0.0	6.6	7.5	18.6	6.8
No opinion	1.4	2.4	5.1	3.8	5.1	3.6
No. of respondents	69	84	136	53	59	401
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: KIIS, questionnaire on-10-99, no. 19.

Table 5: What Is Your Attitude to the New Ukrainian Holidays? (%)

	Lviv	Rivne	Donetsk	Luhansk	Kharkiv	Average
Accept	66.7	72.6	33.8	26.4	30.5	46.0
Indifferent	27.5	26.2	58.1	58.5	57.6	45.6
Hostile	5.8	0.0	5.9	15.1	10.2	7.4
No opinion	0.0	1.2	2.2	0.0	1.7	1.0
No. of respondents	69	84	136	53	59	401
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: KIIS, questionnaire on-10-99, no. 14.

The difference between east and west is quite apparent. The national symbols are absolutely accepted in Lviv and Rivne Oblasts. In the east, however, the picture is more complicated. Donetsk respondents express a somewhat more positive attitude than the two other oblasts in the east. Most of them evaluate the national symbols positively, while in Luhansk and Kharkiv Oblasts the prevailing attitude is indifference. This is especially interesting because Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts constitute one historical-geographical region and are very similar in their ethno-linguistic profile (see table 1). Therefore, one would assume that the attitudes to national symbols would also be very similar. Whether the higher level of support for national symbols in Donetsk, as compared to Luhansk and Kharkiv, is indicative of a more profound trend and is not just a coincidence that occurs only in the context of this survey can be determined by further studies.

The most striking conclusion that can be deduced from the survey results is that only *a minority* of the respondents is overtly hostile to the attributes of Ukrainian statehood. The strongly opposed group is largest in Kharkiv Oblast. Allegiance to national symbols is one of the elements of a stable political community and the lack thereof in the east shows that nation building in Ukraine is still not completed. The high level of acceptance of the blue-and-yellow flag and trident in Lviv and Rivne Oblasts is not surprising. Ukrainian national symbols began to be displayed publicly in these regions even before they became official. In the east the new symbols did not appear until after independence. Until then the people in that region learned of them only in the negative context of Soviet propaganda. Bearing this in mind, we can interpret the prevailing indifference demonstrated in the survey as a sign of transition,

a step towards the eventual recognition and acceptance of the new symbols.

Case studies of national symbols in other countries lend plausibility to this interpretation. In particular, Arnold Shepperson examined national symbols in the context of post-apartheid South African society and concluded that some symbols with strong associations with the apartheid past have been given a new life by being endowed with a positive new content.<sup>27</sup> The same process is taking place in Ukraine.

It should be noted that there is another important condition that makes the transition to acceptance probable: the absence of any meaningful challenge. In Ukraine the only possible alternative to the adopted symbols are the Soviet symbols. Therefore, we can assume that those who reject Ukrainian national symbols are actually manifesting their Soviet allegiance. In Belarus the allegedly nationalistic flag and coat of arms were replaced not by new neutral symbols but by modified versions of the old Soviet ones. Even if the nostalgia for the Soviet Union is as deep in Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts as in Belarus, this is not so in the rest of Ukraine. There the old Soviet symbols belong to the past, not the future. The everyday presence of the new national symbols makes them more palatable to the population, for they represent, in Benedict Anderson's terms, "the everyday reality of the nation." Yet there is one important exception in this picture.

National holidays seem to be the least accepted national symbols. The data suggests that national holidays are not really national yet: they are not embraced by the entire population. Speaking about the perception of Independence Day in Donetsk, Anatol Lieven observes, "People in Donetsk are now deeply hostile to the idea of Ukrainian independence (Russian speakers call it by its Ukrainian name because, as many of them say, 'it is not our holiday')." <sup>28</sup> However, he goes on to describe the celebration of Independence Day in August 1995, when rallies in favour and against it managed to attract only a small number of people. The survey seems to confirm Lieven's observations. Even if the national holidays are the least accepted symbols, only a small percentage of the participants in the survey declared their hostility towards them.

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27. Arnold Shepperson and Ama Bokkebokke, "National Symbols and the Cultural Task beyond Apartheid," *South European Journal for Semiotic Studies*, 1996, no. 8: 411.

28. Anatol Lieven, *Russia and Ukraine: A Fraternal Rivalry* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999), 238.

The new national symbols and holidays are not a bone of contention between eastern and western Ukraine. The number of people who are overtly against them is not high. At the same time, the level of support varies significantly with the oblast. In the west, national symbols and holidays are endorsed by an absolute majority of the respondents. The predominant attitude in the east is indifference, except for Donetsk Oblast, where the flag, coat of arms, and anthem, but not the holidays seem to be accepted by the population. The data for each attitude (acceptance, indifference, and hostility) are summarized in the following tables.

**Table 6: Acceptance (%)**

	Lviv	Rivne	Donetsk	Luhansk	Kharkiv	Average
Flag	95.7	88.1	69.9	39.6	37.3	66.1
Coat of arms	94.2	84.5	66.2	35.8	30.5	62.2
National anthem	94.2	88.1	64.7	41.5	23.7	62.4
National holidays	66.7	72.6	33.8	26.4	30.5	46.0

**Table 7: Indifference (%)**

	Lviv	Rivne	Donetsk	Luhansk	Kharkiv	Average
Flag	1.4	11.9	20.6	49.1	45.8	25.8
Coat of arms	1.4	10.7	22.8	50.9	50.8	27.3
National anthem	2.9	9.5	23.5	47.2	52.5	27.1
National holidays	27.5	26.2	58.1	58.5	57.6	45.6

**Table 8: Hostility (%)**

	Lviv	Rivne	Donetsk	Luhansk	Kharkiv	Average
Flag	1.4	0.0	8.1	7.5	13.6	6.1
Coat of arms	2.9	2.4	9.6	7.5	13.6	7.2
National anthem	1.4	0.0	6.6	7.5	18.6	6.8
National holidays	5.8	0.0	5.9	15.1	10.2	7.4

Thus, the hierarchy of acceptance of national symbols, ranging from the most to the least accepted, will be as follows:

**Table 9: Hierarchy of Acceptance (in Descending Order)**

Lviv	Rivne	Donetsk	Luhansk	Kharkiv
Flag	Flag/anthem	Flag	Anthem	Flag
Coat of arms/ anthem		Coat of arms	Flag	Coat of arms/ Holidays
	Coat of arms	Anthem	Coat of arms	
Holidays	Holidays	Holidays	Holidays	Anthem

As we can see in table 9 the blue-and-yellow flag is the most accepted national symbol, while the national holidays are the least accepted. This is true of other regions too. According to a recent poll conducted among Crimean youth, the national flag induces positive emotions in thirty-eight percent of respondents, while the state anthem and the state emblem does so in twenty-five and twenty-seven percent respectively.<sup>29</sup> There can be a number of explanations for this. The first is psychological: the more abstract the symbol, the more acceptable it is. The national flag can be divorced more easily from its past ideological content and filled with a new one than the anthem and especially the national holidays. Furthermore, people see the national flag more often than other national symbols and often in situations of "spontaneous patriotism," such as soccer matches involving the national team, in which its message of identity is clear and concrete as "us versus them."

Finally, I would like to juxtapose the results from our oblasts with a summary of the data obtained across all Ukraine. My sample, based on the assumption that the attitudes of the west would be in opposition to those of the east, reflects in sum the average attitude found for all Ukraine as we can seen in the following table.

29. "Crimean Youth Cannot See the Tryzub," <<http://aspects.crimeastar.net/english/press/october2002.htm>>.



**Table 10: Average Level of Acceptance of National Symbols across Ukraine**

	Ukraine	Sample	Ukraine	Sample
Flag			Coat of arms	
accept	60.3	66.1	57.0	62.2
hostile	7.1	6.1	9.8	7.2
indifferent	29.8	25.8	29.8	27.3
Anthem			New holidays	
accept	57.7	62.4	43.0	46.0
hostile	7.2	6.8	8.7	7.4
indifferent	30.3	27.1	46.7	45.6

Thus, the data confirms the hypothesis that all other Ukrainian regions are situated somewhere between the two extremes of the eastern and western regions with a slight bias to the attitudes of the east. It is worth noting that the sample average on national holidays is almost identical with the all-Ukrainian average. In this case the gap between the east and west is smaller than in the other cases because the level of acceptance of national holidays in the west is lower than that of other symbols.

## Conclusion

The data confirms that there are opposite trends in the attitudes to national symbols between eastern and western Ukraine. The difference between the east and the west is formulated, however, in the dichotomy “acceptance versus indifference,” rather than “acceptance versus rejection.” Only seven to ten percent of the respondents in the east reject Ukrainian national symbols. This dynamic is not equally observable in regard to all national symbols. In fact, the blue-and-yellow flag is the most accepted national symbol, while the new national holidays are the least accepted.

While the east-west dichotomy is vividly represented in the data, the east appears to be less monolithic than one might expect. In particular, the respondents from Donetsk Oblast are almost twice as likely to accept the new national symbols (except for the holidays) as their counterparts from Luhansk and Kharkiv Oblasts. This difference is remarkable because Luhansk and Donetsk belong to the same Donbas region and have an almost identical ethno-cultural profile. The fact that Kharkiv Oblast has

a higher percentage of Ukrainians and Ukrainian-speakers seems not to have a positive impact on the attitudes to the new national symbols. In fact, the respondents of that oblast were more hostile to and less approving of the national symbols of Ukraine. However, it is too early to draw any far-reaching conclusions about the development of national identity and the perception of national symbols in Ukraine. The question requires more data and further study.

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# *The Politics of Multiculturalism: A Ukrainian-Canadian Memoir*

By Manoly R. Lupul

526 pp (xviii + 508)

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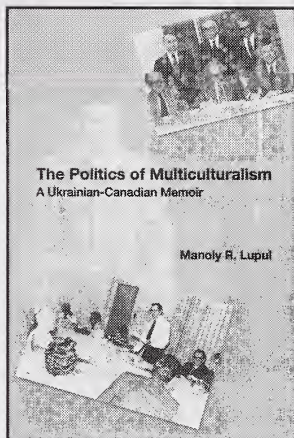
*The Politics of Multiculturalism* is the memoir of an academic who took on a major role in the Canadian multiculturalism movement. Born in the Ukrainian bloc settlement of east-central Alberta and educated at the universities of Alberta,

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## Reviews

Amir Weiner. *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001. xv, 416 pp.

Amir Weiner has written a masterly and detailed study of the social and intellectual impacts of the Second World War on the post-Soviet Ukrainian collective identity. The book is an imaginative and thought-provoking analysis of the internalization of the war by different sections of Soviet society. In Soviet postwar consciousness the so-called Great Patriotic War became the defining event of history, overshadowing even the October Revolution. The war was an overwhelming event for all participants and became the formative event in the life of countless Ukrainians.

The study is divided into three parts. The first part, titled "Delineating the Body Politic," is a case study of the political fallout of the war in Vinnytsia Oblast. As Weiner states, "Vinnytsia offered itself as a test case for the evolution of the Soviet postwar purification enterprise" (p. 138). A study of postwar political life in the oblast shows how the legacy of the war totally reshaped its political framework.

The first chapter deals with the oblast's political elite. The war, naturally, brought the question of loyalty to the forefront: what behaviour was worthy of a Communist in wartime? The Stalinist system placed loyalty to country above loyalty to family (pp. 107–8). Indeed, the most common reason for expulsion from the Party was passivity in the struggle against the invaders (p. 110). The purges that followed the war were immense: over half of all Party workers in Lviv and Voroshylovhrad, and over a quarter in Vinnytsia were replaced (p. 88). The political elite in the oblast was recruited from two major communities: in 1955 almost three-quarters of the oblast-committee secretaries in the Ukrainian republic had been organizers of the partisan movement (p. 71). The other major group were ethnically Ukrainian veterans of the Red Army (p. 81). The partisan community itself was divided, and there was significant resentment towards the so-called "generation of 1943," that is, partisans who had joined the resistance after the Battle of Stalingrad (p. 90).

Chapter 2 covers the purification of the Soviet rank and file. It deals with the war's impact on the formation of *Homo Sovieticus*, the new Soviet man. Weiner demonstrates how an ethnic group, in this case the Ukrainians, was integrated into the Soviet framework through the opportunities for heroism offered by war. The war enabled Ukrainians to raise their status and reposition themselves in Soviet society, while other groups were labelled enemies and traitors and subjected to collective punishment. These social changes raised some ideological difficulties.



One difficulty was to justify collective punishment. Stalin had announced that "sons do not answer for their fathers" (p. 125), and the Soviet leadership had always condemned "zoological chauvinism," as it called racism (p. 36). At a time when much of the Western world embraced the theories and practices of eugenics, sterilization, and euthanasia, the Communists rejected them, at least in theory (p. 204). They insisted that Soviet policies involving collective punishment were not genocidal but necessary and just purges of enemies, in keeping with the corrective purpose of the law (p. 38). Nevertheless, the Stalinists used a biological rhetoric, often referring to their enemies as "vermin," "mad dogs," "pollution," and "weeds" (p. 35).

Another difficulty was to explain wartime collaboration. If war was caused by the contradictions in capitalism, Soviet collaborators with the Germans could not be by-products of war. They had to be eternal enemies, who were merely exposed by the war and the German occupation (p. 137). As Molotov stated, "We purged and purged, but there were still rightists in the Politburo" (p. 364). According to the Stalinists, the enemy was eternal, the evil "other" against whom the Party could never relax its terror.

Furthermore, if postwar Soviet society was harmonious and socialist, as Soviet rhetoric emphasized, how was it that the Stalinist leaders kept unmasking new conspiracies and new enemies of the people? If there were only three classes in the USSR: workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, and no class antagonism, as the regime claimed, then where did the disloyal elements and wreckers come from? Gradually, ethnic antagonism replaced class antagonism as an explanation for conflict under socialism. The enemies were now seen in terms of ethnicity, rather than class (p. 348). The nature of the "other" became increasingly ethnicized: Poles were referred to as "pany" and the Finns as "white samurai" (p. 350). Poles and Germans had already been singled out as traitors before and during the early stages of the war. When the founding of Israel transformed Soviet Jewry into a diaspora, Jews were also singled out as a disloyal group (p. 207). The loyalty of all these minorities to the socialist motherland could be questioned. In the ethnicized environment of the postwar Stalinist period not only the "traitors" but also all their relatives were guilty (p. 185). As Weiner puts it, "with socialism built, extermination was the only way to cope with those who had not yet redeemed themselves" (p. 145). Clashes with Baltic and Western Ukrainian nationalists after the war were virtual extermination campaigns against the irredeemable enemies within, and any compromise was ruled out (p. 153).

The exclusion of the Ukrainian nationalists from Soviet society was thought to be permanent. The Ukrainian nationalists were exempted from the 1956 and 1958 amnesties. It was not until 1965, under Brezhnev's regime, that the Germans and the Ukrainian nationalists were rehabilitated in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the war's ending (p. 233). This was seen as closing a definite period in the society's life. Nevertheless, as long as the myth of the war remained a pillar of the legitimacy of Soviet power, the exclusion of the nationalists from society was non-negotiable (pp. 190, 233). This intransigence comes close to challenging one of the foundations of Soviet ideology: "The Soviet abandonment of differentiation, reform, and the redemption of the enemy within appeared to challenge the Bolsheviks' belief in the primacy of nurture over nature" (p. 190).

While shared wartime suffering was exploited to weld the peoples of the Soviet Union into one polity, public commemoration of the war was marred by inconsistencies.

By 1944 the Holocaust of Soviet Jewry was already integrated into the larger picture of Soviet losses and its distinctive nature was ignored (p. 212). On the other hand, Stalin singled out the Russian people as the "most loyal and selfless of the nations of the Soviet Union" (p. 208). In this way Stalin may have tried to combat the widespread myth of Judeo-Communism. "If the October Revolution was perceived as 'Judeacized' beyond repair, then the new myth of the Great Patriotic War would not suffer the same fate" (p. 235).

Weiner's treatment of Ukrainian integral nationalism during the war in the third part of the book is particularly interesting. The activities of the two factions of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) are well documented. Weiner's survey of some newspapers published by the Melnyk faction gives a good insight into its mindset prior to its change of heart in 1943. The picture that emerges is disturbing: Jews and Poles were to be denied property rights and expelled from Ukraine. He uses various sources to show that members of the faction participated in pogroms. The picture of the Bandera faction is hardly more sympathetic. Iaroslav Stetsko, the self-proclaimed head of the Ukrainian government, is quoted as writing in July 1941: "The Jews help Moscow to consolidate its hold on Ukraine. Therefore I am of the opinion that the Jews should be exterminated and [see] the expediency of carrying out in Ukraine the German methods for exterminating the Jews" (p. 260). Both OUN factions were well aware of the Holocaust but were not particularly troubled by it.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Weiner's book is the sixth chapter, "Peasants to Soviets, Peasants to Ukrainians," which tackles the central question of the book: how the war became an experience that overrode the earlier horrors of the 1930s. As horrendous as the collectivization, famine, and terror had been, they paled in comparison with the German occupation. By 1942 the Soviet population already thought that Bolshevik rule was preferable to the German occupation (p. 313). For many Ukrainians the war rather than the Stalinist terror became the yardstick of political allegiance. The war made the Ukrainian peasant a participant in the Soviet myth (p. 314). The war "turned into a prism through which to view the surroundings, form alliances, and rewrite communal and individual autobiographies in which the pre-war passive and defective rural object was replaced by a dynamic and active subject" (p. 323). As the revolutionary zeal faded in the conservative environment of late Stalinism, the commemoration of the war became increasingly pervasive (pp. 343, 380). The war became a part of the public ritual and the most intimate aspects of life. From the official passport ceremonies, which initiated one into adult life, to army enlistment and weddings, ritualized war commemorations became an integral part of the celebrations. It became customary for wedding parties to visit the tomb of the unknown soldier or war memorials and for "wedding generals" to wish newlyweds a happy marriage.

The war offered Ukrainian peasants a role in the Soviet enterprise. It overshadowed previous historical events in the construction of a new self-image for Soviet Ukraine. In independent Ukraine it still occupies a central role in the national imagination. While the October revolution is no longer officially celebrated, the war myth is alive and strong. Wartime bravery as a symbol for Ukrainianhood has outlived all other forms of national identification (p. 380). The war is seen as fulfilling the national aspirations of integral nationalists, Stalinists, and post-Soviet Ukrainian apparatchiks-cum-nationalists: it ended in the unification of almost all Ukrainian ethnic territories in one republic and Ukraine's

international recognition as a founding member of the United Nations. Thus, Weiner concludes, the war legacy has been fully Ukrainianized (p. 385).

Weiner's book is a well researched study that covers many contradictory aspects of the war's legacy. It is a moving and disturbing book that helps us to make sense of a complicated and tragic past.

Per Anders Rudling  
University of Alberta

Michael James Melnyk. *To Battle: The Formation and History of the 14th Galician Waffen-SS Division*. Solihull, England: Helion & Co., 2002. xi, 380 pp.

On 30 January 2001 the Ukrainian newspaper *Ukraina moloda* featured an article by Ivan Haivanovych with a characteristic title "Ne nazyvaite nas 'SS'" (Do Not Call Us "SS"). The article included a brief interview with the late Roman Debrytsky, the head of the German branch of the Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army (formerly, the Fourteenth Galician Waffen-SS Division). It showcased all the major elements of the contemporary Ukrainian nationalist discourse on the Galician Division that crystallized in the postwar years amidst general debates on nazism, collaboration, and war criminality, as well as more specific war-crime charges from ideological camps as diverse as the Soviet communists, Polish nationalists, and liberal war-crime hunters. With these discourses in mind, Roman Debrytsky proceeded to conceptualize the "collaboration" of Galician Ukrainians in the German armed forces in relation to the Galicians' struggle for an independent Ukrainian state and their historical experience in interwar Poland and under the brief Soviet regime. Giving a fresh spin to the mythical dichotomy of "the clean Wehrmacht versus the criminal SS," familiar to students of the Third Reich, Debrytsky argued that the ominous abbreviation "SS" in the division's name was a formality and insisted that its soldiers should not be identified with Heinrich Himmler's "ideological warriors." Because Debrytsky and his interviewer were so conscious of atrocities, which allegedly distinguish the SS from frontline units, neither of them raised the issue of war crimes, the central point of the controversy about the Galician Division. They were silent on the destruction of civilians in Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia, allegedly perpetrated by some members of the division.

Michael James Melnyk's new book on the Galician Waffen-SS Division is a more nuanced and balanced elaboration of arguments sketched in this article. The author describes his work as an effort to give voice to the Galician Ukrainians and contribute "to the gradual process of revising the often obsolete perceptions of why they chose to act as they did" (p. xi). Melnyk serves this objective by placing actions of the recruits and members of the "collaborating" Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC) in spring 1943 into the context of the Ukrainian independence movement and its repeated failures to secure a Ukrainian state in the years 1918–43 (chap. 1). In 1943 Galician Ukrainians, he argues, strove to exploit the difficulties experienced by the German leadership in the wake of the Stalingrad debacle to create a pool of well-trained military cadres that would prevent opponents of Ukrainian statehood from repeating the scenario of 1918–21, when poorly

armed and ill-trained Ukrainian units were crushed by superior Polish and Bolshevik armies.

Chapters 2 to 4 describe the discussions between the German authorities in Galicia and UCC, as well as the bureaucratic wrangling within the German political establishment over the details of the projected military unit. In its final form the formation, whose creation was officially announced on 28 April 1943 in Lviv (Lemberg), fell somewhat short of UCC's expectations: the designation "Ukrainian" was excluded from its name and its officer corps was dominated by Germans. According to the author, a combination of propaganda appealing to the nationalist and anti-communist sentiments of the population, fear of possible deportation for forced labour in Germany, and even conscription produced by June 1943 a pool of almost 82,000 registered recruits. Only about 11,500 of them ended up in the training camp at Heidelager. The rest, Melnyk claims, were unable or unwilling to serve (p. 38).

In chapter 5 we learn that the training of some of the recruits was interrupted in February 1944, when Petro Vershyhora's Soviet partisans began to pose a serious threat to German communications in the Lublin District of the Generalgouvernement. A unit of the Galician Division, known to historians as the Beyersdorff Battle Group, and several police detachments, consisting of both Germans and Galician Ukrainians, were assigned the task of putting down the Communist resistance in the area. The division's anti-partisan operations and the destruction of the Polish village of Huta Pieniacka on 28 February 1944 have been the most frequent subjects of controversy. Melnyk considers two Polish and one Ukrainian testimony about the incident at Huta Pieniacka and concludes that because of the discrepancies in available sources, there is "no evidence which is sufficient to substantiate either side's contention beyond all reasonable doubt" (p. 352, n. 63). Perhaps he would have arrived at a different conclusion had he used another source. I have in mind the reports of representatives of the Ukrainian Aid Committees (subordinated to UCC in Cracow), currently located in the Michael Chomiak collection in the Provincial Archives of Alberta, accession no. 85.191, folder 59. One of the reports mentions the incident at Huta Pieniacka and states unambiguously that the "pacification" was conducted by soldiers of the Galician Division in retaliation for the death of their two comrades on the outskirts of the village. The same report mentions another "action" of the German gendarmerie and Ukrainian members of the SS-Division in the Polish village Wicen on 4 March 1944 in retaliation for the killing of fifteen Ukrainians in the village of Pukiv by Polish partisans.

Perhaps, the strongest section of the book (chapters 6 and 7) deals with the destruction of the Division by the Red Army at Brody in July 1944. Despite his sometimes annoying preoccupation with establishing the fact that Ukrainians fought well, Melnyk makes good use of German, Ukrainian, and some Soviet documents to reconstruct the battle in miniscule detail and to convey the terrifying reality of the Division's destruction by the superior Soviet forces. His effort will satisfy even the most demanding gourmet of military history. Subsequent chapters chronicle the withdrawal and reorganization of the remnants of the division at Neuhammer in Silesia and its relocation to and operations in Slovakia (August 1944–January 1945) and Slovenia (from January 1945). The final section of the book tells the story of the Division's transformation into the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army in April 1945 and its eventual internment in the Western zones of occupation.



One must give credit to Michael Melnyk for the enormous work of collecting and systematizing materials dispersed in the private collections and archival depositories in North America and Europe. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first English-language book-length history of the Galician Division that makes extensive use of archival documents. The book is fairly well written, complete with maps, appendices, and a wealth of rare photographs, which alone make it a valuable source for historians of the Second World War in Ukraine.

At the same time the work has some flaws of which the reader should be aware. My first reservation concerns the theoretical premises on which the author bases his work. He frequently blurs the distinction between historical fact and its presentation. As an example I can cite the opening chapter of the book, which outlines the historical context in which the Galician SS-Division was organized. While Melnyk's account of the political reasoning and historical thinking of the Galicians who formed the Division are essentially correct, his attempt to justify their actions by using the vocabulary and assumptions of Ukrainian nationalist historiography is problematic. Substituting a one-dimensional picture of national oppression, terror, and genocide (pp. 1–7) for the complex political and social reality of interwar Poland and Soviet Ukraine, he, like other nationalist writers, attributes the Galicians' dominant orientation towards Nazi Germany in the initial phase of the Soviet-German War to their experience of the oppressive Polish and then Soviet regime in Galicia and presents this "alliance" as historically inevitable, rather than conditioned by an intricate interplay of personal experiences under Polish and Soviet rule within the ideological environment in which totalizing discourses of national victimization and national resurrection under the aegis of Nazi Germany assumed an increasingly important part.

My second point is related closely to the first one, and it is about the use of sources. While Melnyk displays a healthy dose of skepticism throughout the book when it comes to documents of German, Polish, or Soviet origin, this skepticism evaporates almost at every encounter with a testimony of a veteran of the Division, even when the testimony is based on personal correspondence or a recent interview, which bear distinct imprints of the contemporary politics of memory. Every now and then one comes upon small factual errors: for example, the town of Berezhany (Brzezany) is mistakenly located in the Stanyslaviv region (p. 113). More troubling is Melnyk's tendency to stereotype; for example, he speaks of the "inflexible Prussian approach" of the Galician Division's German Commander Fritz Freitag and characterizes Komsomol members in the Red Army as "fanatical Communist youth troops" (p. 171). Needless to say, Soviet military historians can easily cite numerous instances of less than fanatical combat behaviour by Komsomol Red Army soldiers. These defects notwithstanding, the book is a useful addition to the existing literature about Ukraine in the Second World War. I recommend it to the students of military history and Ukraine's history.

Oleksandr Melnyk  
*University of Toronto*



Andrii Danylenko. *Predykaty, vidminky i diatezy v ukrainskii movi: Istorychnyi i typolohichnyi aspekty*. Kharkiv: Oho, 2003. 511 pp.

The present volume is a detailed historical and typological study of grammatical categories such as case, predicate, and diathesis in the Ukrainian language. The author, Andrii Danylenko, has already established himself as a well-known expert in the area of Slavic studies through his extensive publications and presentations. Although he comes from the East Slavic philological school with its emphasis on diachronic research, he is clearly familiar with typological studies and Western linguistic theory. In his book Danylenko tries to combine "traditionally philological (comparative and historical) methods with elements of typological reconstruction applied to different language systems, as well as to the diachronic evolutionary stages of one language system" (p. 18). Today there are few Ukrainianists who can achieve such an ambitious goal. Those who specialize in the history of Ukrainian usually lack knowledge of Western linguistics and typology, while expert typologists often do not have a deep knowledge of the development of the Ukrainian language. Thanks to Danylenko's familiarity with the various methods and theories, the appearance of his book is undoubtedly a special event in Ukrainian linguistics.

The work consists of eighteen chapters, which provide the reader with a thorough examination of the historical development of Ukrainian as a language system that depends, according to the author, on changes in the communicative needs of a certain language community. Since "language structure cannot be properly understood without reference to its communicative functions" (L.J. Whaley, *Introduction to Typology: The Unity and Diversity of Language* [Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1997], 15), Danylenko investigates both linguistic and extralinguistic factors and bases his research on the achievements of socio-linguistics, history, and ethnology. The author impresses the reader by drawing not only on historical texts, and folkloric and dialectal records in Ukrainian but also on data from more than eighty languages and dialects. The list of references (pp. 425–69) is also significant: besides a long list of publications in Ukrainian and Russian, which are cited regularly by Ukrainian scholars, most of the sources Danylenko consulted are in languages other than Ukrainian—Polish, Lithuanian, English, French, German, and so on. The subject index (pp. 487–503) is useful, especially in respect to the new terminology given in two languages: in Ukrainian and either Latin, English, or German.

In a detailed introductory chapter (pp. 7–22) the author states the purpose of his research: to reconstruct the typology of cases, predicates, and diatheses from the Proto-Indo-European to the Modern Ukrainian Period. He also critically summarizes the tradition and offers his own understanding of the above categories.

In the first chapter Danylenko explores the problem of predicative cases in Ukrainian and other Slavic and Baltic languages. Chapter 2 deals with the intrahistorical periodization of Ukrainian based on morphological, syntactical, and contestive aspects versus an extrahistorical organization of the language development from Proto-Ukrainian to Old Ukrainian and then to Modern Ukrainian (p. 87). The problem of Proto-Indo-European diatheses and two "linguistic mentalities," mythological and postmythological, is discussed in chapter 3. Aspects of the polysynthetic prehistory of the Ukrainian language (particularly reconstructed participants and predicates) are treated in chapters 4

and 5. In a long chapter 6, the author analyzes the predicative features of the noun and the nominative development of the multiheaded declarative sentence. In chapters 7 and 8 Danylenko examines predicative particles, such as *buh*, *briaz*, *stryb*, as protoverbal predicates. A large part of the book (pp. 224–326), chapters 8 and 9, is devoted to forms in *-no/-to* and the problem of their reconstruction. Chapter 10 deals with *perfecta tantum* forms in the Baltic and Slavic languages with emphasis on Ukrainian reflexes. Split ergativity and the formation of the *ego-et-nuns* perspective are discussed in chapter 11, while the ways of activation of stative predicates and *media tantum* forms in Ukrainian are examined in chapter 12. In chapter 13 Danylenko analyzes the problem of secondary analytic structure (analytism) and initial synthetic structure (synthetism) in Indo-European languages.

The last chapter, titled “Conclusions” (pp. 415–20), summarizes the results of the research. The author briefly reminds the reader of his purpose and methods and concludes that “functional differentiation of such categories as predicate, case and diathesis in the history of the Ukrainian language depended on a typologically relevant method of verbalization of extralinguistic content” (p. 415). It follows from his research that such differentiation occurred by evolutionary stages from a polysynthetic stage in the Proto-Ukrainian Era (with two kinds of predicates: protonominal and protoverbal) to a monosynthetic (or traditionally fleective) stage in the later Old Ukrainian and Modern Periods. Another interesting conclusion is based on socio-linguistic studies: the typological features of case, predicate, and diathesis can be viewed as the result of a change from mythological to postmythological “linguistic mentality.” This argument is supported by evidence of remnants of mythological mentality in modern Ukrainian: impersonal sentence (*Ioho hromom ubylo*—He-ACC thunder-INST kill-PAST, SG, NEUTER—‘It killed him with thunder’) and forms in *-no/-to*, including those that occur in constructions with the accusative of direct object (*vezhu bulo vydno*—tower-ACC was visible-PAST, SG, NEUTER—‘the tower was visible’). The author argues that Ukrainian is a prospectively oriented communicative system with most features of initial synthetism and can be classified between Central European Slavic languages (with mostly analytical features) and Russian (with all features of initial synthetism). Even though this last conclusion is not new (Danylenko himself cites similar assumptions by Roman Jakobson, Oleksander Potebnia, and B.H. Gak on pp. 146–7), Danylenko’s greatest achievement is in finding clear evidence that proves this hypothesis and in placing Ukrainian among typologically similar and distinct languages.

There is no doubt that Danylenko achieves his main goal: he analyzes grammatical categories of case, predicate, and diathesis in Ukrainian and postulates many interesting and innovative ideas about their differences and similarities to their counterparts in other Indo-European languages. However, his argumentation would be greatly strengthened by a fuller presentation of the data. A well-trained language historian or typologist will not find it difficult to read examples in various languages and to discern the gist of their idiosyncrasy, but even then a glossary or a word-by-word translation would be very helpful.

Another remark concerns the notion of typological reconstruction, which is extensively used throughout the book. As a matter of fact, historical linguists distinguish comparative reconstruction, which is used in order to reconstruct proto-languages, and internal reconstruction, which is applied to arrive at a pre-language (see L. Campbell,

*Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* [Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998]). Following this reasoning, typological reconstruction would involve uncovering a kind of “proto-typology” that differs from the modern language classification. However, it seems that Danylenko uses typology for a different purpose: to prove his postulations plausible, so it is not completely clear whether he has done typological reconstruction or merely tested comparative reconstruction for typological consistency. Whatever the case may be, the author’s argument would have looked more convincing had he presented at least one example of his reconstruction in detail. For instance, he might have explained how he arrived at the old syntactic structures on p. 242 (and later on p. 263):

(13-i) \*vezha my bylo (<byla) vydno—tower-NOM me-DAT was-NEUTER (<was-FEM) seen—‘the tower was visible to me’

(13-ii) \*vezha my bylo vydity—tower-NOM me-DAT was-NEUTER to see— ‘the tower was for me to see’

(13-iii) vezhou my bylo vydity—tower-ACC me-DAT was-NEUTER to see—‘it was for me to see the tower.’

The author’s writing style also deserves special attention. He has the difficult task of introducing the Ukrainian reader to the new terminology, and for the most part he succeeds in this. However, the average Ukrainian linguist or philologist (to whom the book is addressed) will be surprised to find some expressions from conversational Ukrainian, such as *ne durno* ‘no wonder,’ *ba* ‘yet,’ *bodai* ‘let,’ *lybon* ‘perhaps,’ *chy to pak* ‘or,’ in a scientific work. On the other hand, he will be confounded by words like *eventualnyi* ‘eventual,’ *paginatsiia* ‘pagination,’ or *atrybuiovanyi* ‘attributive,’ and will tend to translate them into Ukrainian (if he knows English as well as Danylenko does).

In general, by demonstrating that typological and diachronic studies can be closely related to each other, Danylenko’s book sets an example for Ukrainian linguists to follow. Typology is often characterized as an ahistorical classification of languages, and one can infer that typological and historical comparisons belong to two entirely unrelated subfields of linguistics (M. Shibatani and T. Bynon, “Approaches to Language Typology: A Conspectus,” *Approaches to Language Typology*, ed. M. Shibatani and T. Bynon [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995], 20). Danylenko asserted that typological studies do have important implications for historical linguistics and vice versa. His remarkable research will be of great benefit to Ukrainian linguistics. Moreover, it can be a valuable reference for all linguists interested in Indo-European studies, especially if the author decides to translate his book into English.

Roksolana Mykhaylyk  
SUNY at Stony Brook

Wolodymyr T. Zyla, comp. *Postscript to Posterity: Writings by and about Yar Slavutych*. Edmonton: Slavuta, 2003. 200 pp.

In his collection *Ars poetica* the Roman poet Horace included an ode titled “Exegi monumentum aere perennium,” which proclaimed that his works are more durable than bronze and will survive for millennia. And they did survive. Yar Slavutych has created a similar monument with his literary and scholarly output. The latest collection of his

selected writings and their literary criticism, all in English, encompasses but a small part of his contribution to the field of Ukrainian letters and scholarship.

Slavutych did not waste his talent. He composed hundreds of poems, essays, journal and newspaper articles, and professional books on the Ukrainian language, manuals, grammar aids, and much more. Besides being a poet, he was an editor, publisher, literary critic, translator, philologist, professor, freedom fighter, and survivor of the Ukrainian holocaust, the Famine of 1932–33. His extraordinary life story deserves to be briefly outlined.

He was born Hryhorii Mykhailovych Zhuchenko in 1918 in a hamlet of that name in the Kherson region of southern Ukraine. His school years were brutally interrupted by Stalinist repressions: he and his father were arrested and sentenced to exile in 1932. On the way to Siberia he managed to escape with a group of boys and returned to his native district, where he witnessed the famine organized by the Bolshevik regime. His grandfather and younger sister died of hunger. On his deathbed his grandfather implored the young boy, a scion of the proud Ukrainian Cossack nobility, never to forget this crime against the Ukrainian nation, and Hryhorii vowed to dedicate his life to exposing Moscow's black deeds.

The next decade of Slavutych's life was also difficult and tragic. He managed to complete his secondary education and to become a grade-school teacher. In 1938 he published his first poems. Two years later he was drafted into the Red Army, where he eventually attained the rank of junior officer. During the German-Soviet war he served at the front and in the chaos joined the Ukrainian underground, in which he fought for two years. This is when he changed his name to Yar Slavutych, which also became his literary pseudonym. Leaving the underground, he got married, but soon lost his young wife and newly born daughter in a German raid. Slavutych was arrested two more times: by the Soviets in 1938 and by the Germans in 1944. Nevertheless, he survived the war and in 1945 found himself in a DP camp in Germany, where he resumed his literary activity.

In the late 1940s he remarried and emigrated to the United States. After completing his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Pennsylvania in the mid-1950s, Slavutych taught the Ukrainian language at a military school in Monterey, California and in 1960 assumed a teaching position at the University of Alberta. It was in Edmonton that his literary and scholarly career blossomed.

The collection reviewed here complements previous English-language collections of Slavutych's works. It contains ten selected articles by Slavutych in chronological order, ten articles about Slavutych's works, ten book reviews, and a supplement of his writings and bibliography. The book has an attractive cover with the historic Zhuchenko crest on it. There are samples of testimonials and awards that Slavutych received, as well as some individual photographs in the text.

Slavutych's articles deal with various topics in Ukrainian literature in Ukraine and abroad: writers, onomastics, Soviet policy on non-Russian languages, stories about the life of Ukrainian pioneers on the Canadian Prairies, and some foreign writers. These articles reveal the broad scope of their author's intellectual interests and efforts. A staunch supporter of the Ukrainian language, culture, and traditions, Slavutych exposes the Soviet policy of Russifying Ukrainian place names and language in Ukrainian territories. The articles on this question are based on research papers that Slavutych presented at various



international conferences attended by representatives from the Soviet Union. His revelations about the process of Russification provoked angry protests from these representatives. In the early 1960s Soviet agents even made an attempt to abduct him in the streets of Rome as he attended an international conference on onomastics. I remember that the incident was widely reported in the Ukrainian press in the West. Of course, Slavutych wrote and published much more on these topics in Ukrainian than in English.

The articles about Slavutych give a critical evaluation of his works and outline his persona as writer, poet, translator, scholar, survivor, and patriot. So far there have been four comprehensive publications of Slavutych's works in Ukrainian, starting with a volume in 1963 and ending with a five-volume set in 1998. Furthermore, the first collection of his poetry in English translation appeared in 1959, and a bilingual edition titled *The Conquerors of the Prairies* was published in 1974. Selections of Slavutych's poetry have been translated also into French, German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, Croatian, Lithuanian, Belarusian, and Russian. As a poet and translator, he was interested in English, Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, and Belarusian poets. He translated into Ukrainian over thirty poems by his favourite English romantic poet, John Keats. A master of the sonnet form, he translated or adapted many of Shakespeare's sonnets. He also translated selected poems by John Milton, Edmund Spenser, John Donne, Robert Browning, William Wordsworth, and other English poets.

As a young man, Slavutych was strongly influenced by the Ukrainian Neoclassicists of the 1920s, especially by Maksym Rylsky. He did not experiment with free verse or surrealism. Slavutych is an epic-lyrical poet who continues the tradition of Neoclassicism in Ukrainian literature, adding some elements of baroque and expressionism to it. Although he spent his adult years outside Ukraine, Slavutych is deeply rooted in his native Ukrainian culture. After 1990 he became known in Ukraine, where he travelled extensively offering readings of his poetry. Recently, his tenth collection in Ukraine came out. He has won several awards for his works.

Slavutych's working vocabulary is rich and erudite to the point of poetic licence, especially in the field of word creation, grammar, and lexicology. It makes him a poet's poet. As a linguist and a purist, the poet takes a firm stand on keeping his Ukrainian free from foreign elements and influences, but at the same time his poetic imagination occasionally leaps ahead of the contemporary literary language and creates linguistic innovations. Indeed, some reviewers have taken issue with his neologisms. Slavutych boldly uses also archaic forms. His works demonstrate an intimate knowledge of Ukrainian history, literature, and culture and a close familiarity with biblical and ancient history. He employs a whole array of metres and poetic forms: sonnet, tercet and quatrain, and alexandrine. He composes ballads and mystery plays, monologues, dialogues, and soliloquies. His language abounds in alliterations, metaphors, similes, and epithets. In this respect his poetry represents some of the most exquisite artistic work of Ukrainian literature written outside and now also in Ukraine.

The supplementary part contains two additional articles by Slavutych: one on the literary renaissance in Ukraine in the 1920s and the other on his personal recollections of the Famine. The latter was published previously on the fiftieth anniversary of the Famine in the *Ukrainian Quarterly* and *Alberta Report* (1983). There is also the bilingual text of his poem "Nestor Makhno," written in 1947. It is followed by a bibliography of Slavutych's works and selected works about him.



The compiler of the collection, the late Wolodymyr Zyla, contributed two critical articles and two book reviews to this volume. His was the difficult task of selecting the materials for the book. He was well acquainted with Slavutych's writings and had already compiled and edited several collections of Slavutych's works in Ukrainian. Most of the material in this collection had already appeared in print. Nevertheless, one cannot but feel grateful to Zyla for his efforts to acquaint the English reader with Slavutych's contribution to Ukrainian literature.

Victor O. Buyniak  
University of Saskatchewan

Tamara Hundorova. *Femina Melancholica: Stat i kultura v gendernii utopii Olhy Kobylianskoi*. Seriiia "Krytychni studii," vypusk 2. Kyiv: Krytyka, 2002. 271 pp.

*Femina Melancholica*, a study of a pre-eminent Ukrainian modernist writer, Olha Kobylianska, is Tamara Hundorova's third monograph. The other two publications—*Franko – ne kameniar* (Melbourne, 1996) and *Proiavlennia slova: Dyskursiia rannoho modernizmu. Postmoderna interpretatsiia* (Lviv, 1997)—also focus on early modernism; thus, all three works reveal the author's deep fascination with this breakthrough period in Ukrainian letters. Whereas *Franko – ne kameniar* offers a fresh, though somewhat traditional, reading, and *Proiavlennia slova* analyzes modernism from a poststructuralist angle, occasionally resulting in a dense text, *Femina Melancholica* strikes a balance between these two reading strategies and presents a narrative that is not only readable and enjoyable but also informative and novel in its approach.

Hundorova selects the most important events and relationships in Kobylianska's life and juxtaposes them with the writer's output according to a carefully designed thematic framework. Nationalism, feminism, sexuality, androgyny, and gender are all foregrounded not only because Kobylianska herself takes up these issues but also because her personal drama unfolds along the very same fault lines. Yet, Hundorova shies away from an explicit chronological exposition. As a result, *Femina Melancholica* is not so much a literary biography as it is a contemplation of Kobylianska's multiple identities: a Ukrainian with a German cultural upbringing, a feminist, an accomplished writer, a new woman who nonetheless longs to marry. All these identities, Hundorova contends, are rooted in liminality and each displays its own "rites de passage" (p. 13). She argues, moreover, that Kobylianska's main contribution lies in creating a new cultural paradigm in Ukrainian literature, a paradigm that uniquely blends feminism, nationalism, and modernism (p. 14).

The first two chapters support this argument in a particularly pronounced way. The first one deals with Kobylianska's decision to shift away from the German language to Ukrainian as her sole medium for artistic expression. It also points out the implications of such a choice and discusses the influence of Nietzsche's work on the author's early oeuvre. The second chapter concentrates on the development of a special relationship between Kobylianska and Lesia Ukrainka. In fact, Hundorova admittedly further elaborates the late Solomiia Pavlychko's argument about the centrality of the discourse

on sexuality and gender in early Ukrainian modernism and the role both authors played in introducing these subjects into Ukrainian letters. However, it is Hundorova alone who places this relationship in a Platonic context and insists on the constructed nature of the quasi-lesbian correspondence between Kobylanska and Lesia Ukrainka.

These two chapters focus either on works that directly take up the issues of female emancipation and sexuality (the short stories "Pryroda" and "Nekulturna") or on works that explicitly or implicitly discuss the question of national identity (the novels *Za sytuatsiiamy* and *Cherez kladku*). Chapters three to six, on the other hand, underscore the position of women in *fin-de-siècle* society both from the socio-economic and the psychological viewpoints. Hundorova elucidates Kobylanska's stand on gender issues by skillfully interweaving her analysis of the writer's major novels (*Liudyna*, *Tsarivna*, *Cherez kladku*, *Zemlia*) with the events in Kobylanska's life that directly impacted their creation. Here her unrequited love for a colleague-writer, Osy Makovei, comes to the forefront, as well as the untimely death of her brother Volodymyr and the unfulfilled desire to bear a child. In addition to major novels and short stories, the scholar relies heavily on the writer's diaries in constructing a credible narrative.

The last chapter stands apart from the preceding sections in that it offers a specifically male viewpoint on the modernist conceptualization of the gender problematic. Presenting Makovei's contribution in this context is more than justified, considering Kobylanska's life-long passion for him. The other three perspectives, namely that of August Strindberg, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, and Stanisław Przybyszewski, seem at first somewhat removed from the main thrust of the narrative. Yet, taking into account Hundorova's clear intent to provide as broad a context for Kobylanska's version of modernism as scholarly plausible, their inclusion is not entirely unexpected.

The elaborate compositional structure of *Femina Melancholica* is impressive. Each chapter constitutes an autonomous thematic cluster, interspersed here and there with a few excursuses on Oscar Wilde, Marina Tsvetaeva, Lou Salomé, Laura Marholm, and Marie Bashkirtseff. The whole is reminiscent of the musical genre of variation, in which a theme or idea reoccurs under various guises. This structure allows Hundorova to discuss particular works on more than one occasion, each time revealing something new about them. In other words, Kobylanska's texts serve as illustrations for the theoretical points constructed by the scholar rather than the other way around. Paradoxically, this strategy contributes as much to the monograph's strength as to its weakness. The inventive exposition of the material is at times undermined by unnecessary repetitions. For example, a quotation from Kobylanska's diary about her desire to bear a child appears twice (pp. 133, 185) without any attempt to justify or to link the two occasions. Such instances, however, are very rare.

There is also a minor discord in *Femina Melancholica*, at least in my opinion, between the theme of melancholic femininity, clearly pushed to the foreground, and Hundorova's noteworthy observation that Kobylanska arms many of her heroines with highly rational, cultured, and serene qualities, associated with Nietzsche's Apollonian principle, despite the widely held view at the time that women represent the irrational, Dionysian side of human nature. Melancholy, which is commonly associated with sadness, reflectivity, and even depression, does not fit easily into the well-ordered world of reason. Perhaps anticipating such criticism, Hundorova defines her concept of melancholy in very broad terms and in Kobylanska's case associates it with a peculiar combination of

feminism, nationalism, and modernism (p. 11). How is one to reconcile Kobylanska's appropriation of the Apollonian principle with her pervasive melancholic mood is left unanswered.

These minor discrepancies do not by any means undermine the overall soundness of Hundorova's inquiry. What is especially commendable about this monograph is that it places Kobylanska's oeuvre in the context of a European modernist paradigm. However marginal a writer she might have appeared against this background, the issues she tackled, Hundorova contends, were as important as the issues explored by other modernist writers of the *fin-de-siècle*. Moreover, this is the first study of Kobylanska that consistently employs a psychoanalytic methodology. The book is equipped with a solid bibliography, including an impressive number of Western sources, as well as a useful name and subject indices. It is not only an excellent introduction to Kobylanska's life and work but also an interesting account of modernism through the prism of gender studies.

Maria G. Rewakowicz  
Columbia University

Hans van Zon. *The Political Economy of Independent Ukraine*. London and New York: Macmillan and St. Martin's Press, 2000. xi, 236 pp.

It is well known that in its first ten years of independent existence the former Soviet republic of Ukraine experienced an economic collapse the like of which is unprecedented, except in times of war. The decline was both sharp and deep. From 1991–98 Ukraine's real GDP declined by a cumulative 62.1 percent. By comparison Russia's fell by just over forty percent. The CIS average was a fifty percent decline. Ukraine's industrial output and capital investment fell by similarly large magnitudes: fifty-nine and eighty-one percent, respectively. No sector or industry was spared, with the steepest declines coming in heavy industry and raw materials extraction. The industrial collapse was protracted, showing few signs of reversal until 1999–2000. In fact, 2000 recorded what might be a turning point, registering a six percent growth in real GDP.

In a recent book Hans van Zon has provided an excellent diagnosis of Ukraine's current and ongoing difficulties, as well as the origins of the crisis. In the twenty-five years immediately preceding the collapse of the Soviet Union, there were serious misallocations of capital and labour throughout the entire Soviet economy. The period preceding and including the perestroika era witnessed a steady decline in productivity. Stagnation led to decline, so that all post-socialist countries in the 1990s experienced a deep economic depression. Only Albania, Poland, and the former German Democratic Republic had begun to recover by 1994. By the end of 1995 the Czech Republic, Hungary, and some of the smaller NIS states had also begun to show positive real growth rates. But it has taken Ukraine some ten years to turn the corner.

Ukraine's prolonged economic free-fall raises questions about the nature of the collapse and its relation to the essential features of economic transition. As van Zon argues, an important obstacle to progress has been the emergence of a predatory state inhabited by political and bureaucratic elites that "see the state primarily as a feeding ground" (p. 4). The full panoply of state pathologies is to be observed: corruption, a

sizable shadow sector, widespread tax evasion, economic theft, nepotism, and elites that seek political power for personal enrichment.

Van Zon's overall thesis is that Ukraine's economic and social development is blocked by a parasitic state that has institutionalized kleptocracy at all levels of state governance and administration. This has had the effect of privileging value-subtracting enterprises, while preventing the development of profitable ones. The parasitic state emerged from the vestigial remains of Soviet mechanisms, including distortions introduced by forced industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, a hierarchical organization of industry that ignored the horizontal (that is, regional) dimension, and an essentially authoritarian political system. As van Zon makes clear, when it was embedded in the Soviet system, Ukraine always was far from being a single market. As the Soviet Union collapsed, the weakening of the coercive mechanisms of the party-state precipitated a run on state assets, as officials sought to grab what they could during the height of confusion. This further accelerated the collapse from within.

Today, the economy resembles an "archipelago" of economic structures that are barely linked to one another. The author makes the astute observation that the current economic structure of the country is the result of a differential decline in key sectors rather than of government policies. Thus, the share of value-subtracting industries and sectors has grown, while the share of value-adding industries and sectors has declined. Privatization has had little impact on enterprise governance. There are deficient incentive structures in place, so that enterprise managers do not pursue economic efficiencies. Meanwhile, the populace remains passive and compliant, even as it knows and understands what is happening in its country (the alternative—political agitation and protest, possibly leading to violence—is unthinkable to most Ukrainians).

The initial economic program of well-meaning Ukrainian officials was premised on the belief that a bureaucratically controlled economy coupled with some market reforms would produce an economic resurgence. Essentially, Kyiv attempted to preserve the failing Soviet economic system in microcosm and with deleterious consequences. As van Zon rightly points out, development of a modern market economy in 1991–96 was secondary in the minds of elites to the more urgent tasks of state and nation building. This unfortunately has placed Ukrainian statehood on a very fragile economic basis.

Ukrainian policy makers have been unable to turn the state apparatus in support of market reforms. The state bureaucracy is rather weak, and professional skills among civil servants are severely lacking. There is little hard policy analysis performed to guide decisions, and control over policy implementation is virtually non-existent. Decisions are made on a non-transparent basis, and accountability is lacking. There is no public service ethic. Great uncertainty prevails in the legal-regulatory sphere, as policies are reversed almost as soon as they are adopted (for example, the repeated changes to the tax system over the last decade). However, as van Zon notes somewhat paradoxically, "bureaucrats remain so powerful that we can still speak about the Ukrainian polity as a bureaucratic regime" (p. 33). Indeed, the state and its bureaucracy have emerged as the most critical obstacles to reform.

Ukraine today is neither a market economy nor a centrally planned, state-controlled economy. Rather, it is in a permanent condition of "semi-reform." It is stuck between the plan and the market, as it were. Unable to return to its Soviet past, it remains nonetheless unwilling to move forward to embrace its post-Soviet future. In many respects such a



state of semi-reform is the worst of all places to be. No broad political movement has developed that would be able to compel the state to adopt political and economic reforms that are in the general interest. Van Zon deftly explores the causes of this problem. The book shows the myriad ways in which economic systems in general are socially embedded. The lesson I draw from van Zon is that at the most fundamental level economic reform and development are a state of mind. Those who are interested in the future of the former Soviet world will benefit immensely from a thorough study of this excellent book.

Robert S. Kravchuk

*School of Public & Environmental Affairs  
Indiana University*

Hugh Ragsdale. *The Soviets, the Munich Crisis, and the Coming of World War II*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. xxii, 212 pp.

The Munich Crisis, a key prelude to the Second World War, continues to attract the attention of historians and the general public alike, in large measure because this event begs counterfactual questions. What would have happened if the British and French had taken a stand against Hitler in 1938 and not in 1939? How would the Second World War have played out if the Czechoslovak army had offered stiff resistance to the Nazis, and the Soviet Union had declared war on Germany in defense of its ally? The literature on Munich is voluminous, but Hugh Ragsdale focuses on an aspect that has not been sufficiently clarified until now. Conventional Western narratives of the 1938 crisis assume that the USSR had no intention of coming to Czechoslovakia's aid in the event of war and, in any case, Romania was not prepared to allow Soviet troops to pass through its territory. To test this opinion, which had informed Western politicians' actions in 1938, Ragsdale worked in Romanian and Soviet military archives. He also examined an impressive number of documentary publications and scholarly works in Russian, Czech, Romanian, and Polish. Ragsdale's findings shed new light on the Soviet Union's interaction with Romania and Czechoslovakia and raise questions of great interest to Ukrainian specialists, although the author largely ignores the Ukrainian question in interwar Europe.

Like a similar agreement that Stalin had concluded with France, the 1935 Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty stipulated mutual military assistance in case of attack by another European power. However, the Soviets were required to help Czechoslovakia only after (and if) France declared war on the aggressor. Since the pre-war Soviet Union did not have a common border with Czechoslovakia, contemporary observers assumed that Poland and Romania would never risk their sovereignty by allowing the Red Army to pass through their territory. Yet, Ragsdale uncovered documents of the Romanian General Staff that indicate Romania's readiness to permit the transfer of Soviet troops. He also uses Soviet sources to demonstrate that during the crisis the Red Army mobilized on a massive scale, and its propaganda machine began to prepare the troops for coming to Czechoslovakia's assistance. What contemporary Western politicians had dismissed as a mere demonstration was apparently a very real preparation for military involvement. But how



would the Soviet forces have become involved? Ragsdale marshals considerable evidence indicating that the Soviets had not planned to use the Romanian route after all. Railways and roads in eastern Romania were completely inadequate for the transportation of a modern army. Unlike their Polish counterparts, the Romanian border guards reported no increased military activity on the Soviet side of the border. Soviet diplomats occasionally let slip in conversations with the French that in the event of war the Red Army would enter the European theatre through Poland. Finally, of the five Soviet army groups mobilized and posted to the frontier in September 1938, four were stationed on the Polish border and only one on the Romanian border (p. 176).

Ragsdale rightly concludes that had Stalin become involved in the European war in the fall of 1938, his armies would have intervened through Poland's territory (p. 185). He rejects the suggestion of some Czech scholars that the Soviet Union would have used this opportunity to extend its control over Poland and Czechoslovakia and contends that Stalin's aim "would have been the containment of Nazi imperialism and the protection of Soviet security" (ibid.). Given the Soviet actions toward their East European neighbours in 1939–40 and 1944–48, this is doubtful. If anything, Ragsdale's findings make it probable that Stalin and his generals were prepared in 1938 to do what they would do in 1939–40, namely, seize new territories in the West. Doing so, of course, would have also contributed to Soviet security and the containment of the Nazis, at least from Stalin's point of view. It is a pity that Ragsdale pays little attention to Soviet territorial claims against Romania and Poland, since this aspect of the Ukrainian question could have offered an essential perspective of Soviet designs in Eastern Europe.

Indeed, it is strange that in a book focused so heavily on Soviet-Romanian relations during the period leading up to the Second World War, the dispute over Bessarabia is mentioned only in passing, and Bukovyna is not discussed at all. The latter name does not come up even in the author's account of the 1940 transfer of Bessarabia to the Soviet Union (pp. 81, 168), which was accompanied by Stalin's occupation of Bukovyna. In fact, the only time Ragsdale talks about this region is when he describes Polish intelligence reports about shepherds in the mountains southeast of "Czerniowce" having observed early-morning flights of Soviet aircraft to Czechoslovakia (p. 85). (The Czechoslovak army had purchased sixty-one Soviet-built bombers just before Munich and was transferring them with the secret assent of the Romanian authorities.) Nor does Ragsdale discuss the implications of the Munich Crisis for Czechoslovakia's Rusyns, although he mentions that they numbered 460,000 (p. 19), or Stalin's well-known angry reaction to the creation of a Ukrainian state in Transcarpathia. Tantalizingly, he quotes Hitler's reply to Chamberlain that "the Sudetens were not the end of the matter [for Czechoslovakia], as the wishes of the Poles, the Hungarians, and the Ukrainians had to be taken into account" (p. 96)—never to return to this issue.

These criticisms aside, Ragsdale's invaluable book challenges conventional wisdom on the Soviet Union's plans during the 1938 crisis and gives rich food for thought to historians of twentieth-century Europe, including Ukrainian specialists.

Serhy Yekelchuk  
*University of Victoria*

Liubomyr Roman Wynar. *Kozatska Ukraina: Vybrani pratsi*. Ed. Valerii Stepankov and Alla Atamanenko. Kyiv, Lviv, New York, and Paris: Natsionalna akademiia nauk Ukrainy and Ukrainske istorychne tovarystvo, 2003. 677 pp.

Lubomyr Wynar (b. 1932) is the long-standing head of the American-based Ukrainian Historical Association, which for many years has united Ukrainian historians in Western Europe, the United States, and Canada around its journal *Ukrainskyi istoryk*. Professor Wynar taught library science at Kent State University in Ohio and was a leading Ukrainian émigré historian throughout the later years of the "Long Cold War." Early in his career he concentrated on Ukrainian Cossack history but later developed a special interest in the famous Ukrainian historian and political figure Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866–1934) and collected and published materials about him. Over the years Professor Wynar devoted much of his time to editing *Ukrainskyi istoryk*, although he was also active in American ethnic studies, especially as a bibliographer and the editor of the journal *Ethnic Forum*.

The present collected essays date mostly from Wynar's early years, especially the 1950s and the 1960s, when he was most active doing original research in Cossack history. At that time he conceived the idea of writing a general history of the Ukrainian Cossacks, and some of the papers in this collection were preparatory studies for that unfulfilled project; a few others are historiographical essays assessing the works of important Ukrainian historians who wrote on the Cossacks: Volodymyr Antonovych (1834–1908), Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and Oleksander Ohloblyn (1899–1992). Most of the latter essays were written in the 1990s.

Professor Wynar's general approach to history is more or less that of a typical Rankean historian of the mid-twentieth century; that is, he sees the first duty of the historian to be the proper gathering, ordering, and analysis of facts, leading later to a synthetic narrative history. Thus the main aim of his work has been to establish "facts" and to fill the lacunae within the general picture. Indeed, Professor Wynar's principal strength lies in his discussion of the "facts" and in some cases their analysis; his principal weakness is getting around to the synthesis and narrative history. While he has proved himself a very prolific essayist and collector of primary materials, Professor Wynar has yet to produce a general synthetic history of note. This does not mean, however, that he is weak in conceptualization. His historical writings in general, and these essays on Cossack history in particular, display a well thought-out and crystal clear approach to Ukrainian history.

First, Professor Wynar distinguishes very clearly between "national" history, to which he is absolutely committed, and "nationalistic" history, which he views as a "partisan" or "party-minded" distortion of scholarship. Hence he has passionately defended Mykhailo Hrushevsky, who at one time was rejected not only by Communist authors in the Soviet Union but also by some of the more extreme Ukrainian nationalist authors in the West. Wynar's distinction between "national" and "nationalistic," which is not entirely devoid of romantic content, and his Rankean approach to history, which constantly stresses "fact" and is clearly rooted in positivist philosophy, remind one of Hrushevsky. Although he may challenge some of Hrushevsky's facts, as he does in this particular volume, he does not question Hrushevsky's general approach.

Professor Wynar's approach to Ukrainian Cossack history is clearly national. Not once in this volume does he make a broad comparison between the Ukrainian and the Russian Cossacks or discuss interactions between them. He is also very critical of Soviet dogmas regarding Ukrainian Cossack history. For example, the volume begins with a study of Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky (d. 1563) and his role in the general history of Ukrainian Cossackdom. Wynar sees this as completely positive: Vyshnevetsky, the great Cossack leader and founder of the first Sich on the lower Dnieper, was not simply an adventurer but rather a national leader with a well-considered policy for the defense of his homeland from the ravaging Tatars. Thus, in Wynar's view Soviet Ukrainian historians, such as Volodymyr Holobutsky (1903–93), who see "Prince" Dmytro as an oppressor of the Ukrainian people and Western historians, such as C. Lemerrier-Quelquejey, who see him as little more than a "Lithuanian adventurer" are both wrong. In particular, Vyshnevetsky's foray into Moldavia was part of a well-constructed plan for the expansion of Ukrainian political space and the establishment of a buffer state between the Ukrainians and the Ottoman Empire.

Similarly, the Ukrainian Cossacks were not a wild or chaotic element in East European politics but rather the defenders of the Ukrainian people and of Christendom as a whole against Muslim expansion. This is true of Vyshnevetsky's successors up to the time of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. It is this "fact" that accounts for the good relations between the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the papacy, which kept trying to build a broad anti-Turkish coalition of European states, and between the Cossacks and the Habsburgs, who supported such a coalition. Wynar points out with some relish that this Christian-oriented policy was in clear contrast to that of most Polish governments, which were usually anxious to remain on good terms with the Turks, and this, in spite of recurrent attacks on Polish-ruled Ukraine by the Tatars, the vassals of the Ottoman Porte. Consequently, Wynar sees some irony in Poland's traditional claim to be the "forepost" of Christian civilization in the east.

The essays in this volume on the Cossack leaders Vyshnevetsky, Ivan Pidkova, Severyn Nalyvaiko, and Khmelnytsky, and on the historians Antonovych, Hrushevsky, and Ohloblyn, as well as the essays on Cossack relations with the papacy, the Habsburgs, and the English, are all directed toward filling one or another lacuna in Wynar's national history of the Ukrainian Cossacks; they seem to be meant for historians rather than the general reader. Certainly, this beautifully designed and printed book constitutes a monument to a very national interpretation of the Cossack phenomenon. It will probably be of special interest to readers in contemporary Ukraine, who for many years were deprived of materials on Ukrainian national history.

Thomas M. Prymak  
*University of Toronto*

George O. Liber. *Alexander Dovzhenko: A Life in Soviet Film*. London: British Film Institute, 2002. vii, 309 pp.

In his *Epistulae Morales*, Seneca, lawyer-philosopher and tutor of Nero, writes to his friend Lucilius, "There are more things, Lucilius, likely to frighten than crush us. We suffer more in imagination than reality" (I, 75). The Stoic truth is instructive for

untangling fiction from reality in the biography of Ukraine's most famous filmmaker and early hero of a now forgotten poetico-ideologic tradition of cinema. In Ukrainian- and Russian-language publications there has been a lot of red ink spilt regarding Dovzhenko. There is a wealth of Soviet and post-Soviet Ukrainian and Russian material for redactors to separate the wheat from the chaff. With this in mind, George O. Liber presents the first full-length English biography of Dovzhenko, *Alexander Dovzhenko: A Life in Soviet Film*, drawing on a wealth of published Ukrainian and Russian works, as well as unpublished and previously closed archival sources.

The book is conveniently divided into eleven chronologically arranged chapters and includes a filmography, bibliography, index, and some well-chosen black-and-white illustrations. Liber begins with Dovzhenko's early years ("Becoming a Teacher"), his political involvement ("Revolution and Civil War" and "Warsaw, Berlin and Revolutionary Diplomacy"), and introduction to filmmaking ("First Frames"). Because this early period is unknown except among readers of academic journals and Ukrainian- or Russian-language studies, this is a welcome English-language summary, especially in a widely circulating BFI edition.

Liber's work examines Dovzhenko in the context of the dilemmas of the Soviet and Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia in the first half of the twentieth century (p. iv). He comments, "Dovzhenko met his untimely end a frustrated man. Although he died in the presence of his wife, he never completed the films he wanted to produce. Stalin and his allies had thwarted his vocation as filmmaker" (p. 2).

Dovzhenko's character was complex and multi-layered. One of his junior colleagues, Mykola Mashchenko, pointed out in a 1996 interview that Dovzhenko "thought one thing, said another, filmed a third and wrote a fourth" (p. 5). Speaking about the early deaths of twelve of his fourteen siblings, Liber writes, "perhaps as an escape from the deaths and conflicts in the family, young Alexander became a dreamer. He created an imaginary world and often withdrew into it. Dovzhenko wrote: 'My dreams and imagination were so strong that at times I lived on two levels—the real and the imaginary—which struggled with each other and yet seemed reconcilable'" (p. 16).

In the early chapters, leaving room for future research, Liber demystifies Dovzhenko's Warsaw and Berlin periods, when he became acquainted with the early German expressionist filmmakers Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau, Fritz Lang, and Georg Wilhelm Pabst (p. 66). Thankfully, Liber does not linger on the symbolic significance of Dovzhenko's uncovered love letters and circulating spy theories. Chapter 5, dealing with Dovzhenko's famous silent trilogy (*Zvenyhora*, *Arsenal*, and *Earth*), is the weakest chapter in the book. These films have been covered better by others. There is perhaps a need to probe deeper into Dovzhenko's connections with VAPLITE, the influences of early Ukrainian art, and the resonance within Dovzhenko's aesthetic.

In the later chapters—"Stalin's Client," "(Re)creating *Schors*," "Dovzhenko's War," "Internal Exile," and "Cold War Politics"—Dovzhenko becomes Stalin's client, trapped in internal exile, maligned and branded a bourgeois nationalist. Soviet accounts of Dovzhenko's comments on Sergei Eisenstein at the All-Union Conference of the Creative Workers of Soviet Cinematography in 1935 and Dovzhenko's own rewritings of his biography need to be re-examined critically within a wider context of the times. In discussing Dovzhenko's comments on his meeting with Stalin regarding the screenplay of *Aerograd*, Liber comments: "If these passages truly reflect Dovzhenko's emotional



universe, his first meeting with Stalin overwhelmed him emotionally.... Dovzhenko wanted recognition, and he found it. He wanted respect, and he received it. He wanted approval, and he won Stalin's blessing" (p. 167). At least this is what the published documents show. Liber is perhaps too credulous in treating published Soviet memoirs as source documents rather than problematic types of discourse. The émigré critics and literary historians Marco Carynnyk and the late Ivan Koshelivets adopted a more skeptical attitude toward Soviet publications.

Still, Liber must be commended for attempting the complex task of surveying Dovzhenko's entire life and multifaceted personality, and the now voluminous Ukrainian and Russian Dovzhenkiana. He quotes Dovzhenko on the film studio's evacuation from Kyiv to Central Asia during the war years and his problems with the studio's chief administrator, Ia. Lynniichuk, "an internationalist in form, but a scoundrel in content" (p. 189). Liber is excellent on Dovzhenko's maligned war novel and screenplay *Ukraine in Flames*, which Dovzhenko's "sworn enemy," the writer Oleksander Korniiichuk, called "a filthy stain on Soviet reality" (p. 202).

Liber concludes the book with a glance at Dovzhenko's brief thaw period. Julia Solntseva, Dovzhenko's second wife, and her work of mythologizing Dovzhenko are relegated too far to the margin. In conclusion Liber writes about Dovzhenko: "Not surprisingly, the master of illusion wove a cloak of myths and wore it in public in order to disguise his true self in an often-treacherous Stalinist world. Conforming to the political demands of the day, other people also invented episodes and ascribed them to Dovzhenko. His second wife, Julia Solntseva, held the role of his gatekeeper and censor for thirty-three years after his death, preserving and expanding the misrepresentations he established" (p. 271). Liber is correct and might have delineated this with more precision. Here there is work for future scholars.

Liber's biography must be commended for tapping a wealth of previously inaccessible Ukrainian and Russian documents regarding Dovzhenko. While Dovzhenko's quixotic quest and complex personality remain shrouded in mystery, Liber's book has made them more accessible to English-language readers.

Ray Uzwyshyn  
University of Miami

Andrii Kravchuk [Krawchuk]. *Indeks ukrainskoi katolytskoi periodyky Halychyny, 1871–1942*. Lviv: Vydavnytstvo Lvivskoi bohoslavskoi akademii, Monastyr monakhiv Studytskoho ustavu, Svichado, 2000. 519 pp.

This pioneering index to the contents of the Greek-Catholic press in Western Ukraine will be appreciated by scholars of Ukrainian religious life, theology, and church history. The compiler, Andrii Krawchuk, the president of the University of Sudbury, is eminently qualified to produce such a bibliographic first: he has doctorates in both theology and philosophy and is the author of *Christian Social Ethics in Ukraine: The Legacy of Andrei Sheptytsky* (1997). He had an impressive board of consultants, which included a number of well-known professional bibliographers of Ukraine.



The index covers nineteen periodicals and almanachs, from *Ruskii Sion*, first published in 1871, to *Bohosloviia*, the last issue of which appeared in 1942. Some 8,000 entries are presented in thirty-five subject groupings, such as theology, philosophy, Bible studies, church history, liturgical and ritual matters, pastoral theology, catechetics and evangelization, homilies and homiletics, ecumenical and interconfessional issues, and personalia. Entries in each thematic group are arranged chronologically and have, as an additional segment, a listing of book reviews related to the topic. All entries are numbered and the numerical sequence reflects the thematic subdivision; for example, Bible studies are all in category 1 (1.1, 1.2, 1.3), while church history is category 4 (4.1, 4.2, 4.3). Entries as a rule are under the author's last name or, in the absence of an author, under the title. Occasionally one-line annotations are added, but they are rare. The book has a personal name index, as well as a geographical index.

The nineteen journals covered, according to the introduction, do not include all the Greek Catholic periodical publications of the period. Official organs of the various Galician eparchies are not covered, and Catholic newspapers such as *Nova zoria*, *Meta*, and *Ruslan*, described by the author as "especially important for the history of religious thought" of Ukraine, are not covered either. The reasons for such omissions are not adequately explained in the introduction, and the statement that each one of these publications merits its own index is not very convincing, unless a sequel to the present index is planned for the future. The scope or what is called "the profile" of the publication may be clear to the author and his collaborators, but it needs to be made clear to the reader.

Occasional one-line annotations appear mostly under reviews, where they are not needed, and not where they would be most helpful. A few examples: on p. 19 there are five articles listed with their titles in Latin. Are the texts also in Latin? A note would be most helpful. Throughout the index there are listings in German, French, Polish, and other languages. The language of the material should have been indicated. On page 19 under 2.63, H. Kostelnyk's polemical article, which is a response to a review by T. Spachil (the name as transliterated from Ukrainian), is listed. A "see also" to the original review is absolutely essential, as well as an indication that the name of the reviewer is properly spelled T.P. Spacil, since the name appears only in the Latin name index. On p. 5 (item 1.36) there is a listing of an article in several parts by Mykola Konrad entitled "D-ra Franka 'Poema pro sotvorenie svita,'" published in *Nyva*. Without an annotation it is difficult to know what this really is: it is published in the Bible section, and supposedly is not a review. Is it a polemic with Franko about genesis or creation? An annotation could have made this clear for the reader. I do not know how many readers will find the geographical index useful: in most cases it refers to places of publication. The name index, on the other hand, is absolutely essential, and it is the most important retrieval tool for publications, especially since it is not limited to authors, but covers subjects as well. But is it fully reliable? Under the name "Antonych, V." you find a reference to p. 205 only, but on p. 205 there is only a "see also" reference to some article by Antonych published in *Nyva*. Whether or not that article is covered by *Indeks* is impossible to tell. Its title is "Ieshche raz pro nashi pekuchi spravy" (Once More about Our Burning Issues), a title too general for easy classification. Having checked and failed to find it in several seemingly appropriate sections (27. Podii, 28. Liudy, 29. Khronika, 30. Tserkovno-derzhavni spravy, 31. Uniini spravy, 32. Mizhkonfesiini ta mizhobriadovi spravy, 34. Narodna relihiiniist, 35. Periodyka, rizne), I assume that it is not listed at all. This example

shows what kinds of problems an interested researcher may encounter using this index. Let us hope that the example with Antonych is not typical for the rest of the names. However, the name index would be much more useful if the references were to the numbered items rather than to pages.

Despite these drawbacks this pioneering index, which covers some seventy years of at least a part of the Catholic press of Western Ukraine, will be a useful tool and not only to historians and theologians: for literary scholars, for example, it can provide a much needed key to the reception of Ukrainian writers, such as Ivan Franko, Pavlo Tychyna, Volodymyr Vynnychenko (cf. p. 140), Ahatanhel Krymsky, Bohdan Lepky, and Mykhailo Iatskiv (cf. p. 144), by the Catholic establishment of Galicia.

Marta Tarnawsky  
Philadelphia

Ola Hnatiuk. *Pożegnanie z imperium: Ukraińskie dyskusje o tożsamości*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2003. 350 pp.

This is a study of what Ukrainophone intellectuals were writing about their collective self-understanding from the beginning of perestroika in 1985 through 2002. (The last date mentioned in the book is February 2003.) The primary focus is on writers and literary critics, such as Iurii Andrukhovych, Mykola Riabchuk, and Oksana Zabuzhko, but some historians also figure in the text, particularly Yaroslav Hrytsak. The author is clearly familiar with postmodernist and post-colonialist theories and incorporates some of their insights, but prefers a rather traditional, analytical, intellectual-history approach to her material. In fact, she distances herself from the post-colonial paradigm with regard to Ukraine, since "Ukrainians could participate in the high culture of the empire, which in the case of colonial nations was not possible" (p. 19). She proceeds from the premise that identities are constructed and writes her book as a case study of such construction. Fairly even-handed in her treatment of the different tendencies and personalities, she nonetheless clearly prefers some to others. Overall, this volume is sure to remain the standard textbook of and guide to the key debates within Ukrainian national thought in the years before and after the formation of an independent Ukrainian state in 1991.

Hnatiuk points out that Ukrainian activists in the mid- and late 1980s assumed that there was a fairly coherent, shared perspective on what it means to be Ukrainian, but by the early 1990s this was shown to be false. The early 1990s were nonetheless a time of optimism, when much of the Ukrainian identity talk focused on Ukraine's return to Europe, particularly to the celebrated "Central Europe" envisioned by the Czech writer Milan Kundera. By the mid-1990s, however, everyone in Ukraine could see the roadblocks on the route to Europe. While some—and these are the thinkers Hnatiuk likes best—remained loyal to modernizing "European" ideals for the Ukrainian nation as a whole, others did not. The latter began to emphasize the distinctiveness of Galicia as the only part of Ukraine that actually belonged to Central Europe, now re-envisioned with much less emphasis on avant-garde creativity and cultural pluralism. Many more constituted a nativist reaction, usually anti-Russian, of course, but also anti-Western: the

widely read writer and critic Ievhen Pashkovsky blamed the West for "infecting" Ukraine with communism and using the country to immunize itself against Mongols, Muscovites, and Chornobyl reactors (p. 297).

There are a few nuggets of sociological insight in Hnatiuk's text. She points out that representatives of the more open, pro-Western trend have been successful at getting outside funding in the form of grants and trips abroad, while the nativists have succeeded in dominating institutions inherited from the Soviet era, such as the Writers' Union of Ukraine, the literary prizes, and the journals of wide circulation (p. 124 and *passim*). From the point of view of the traditionalists, their rivals' "fascination with Western models has ... a purely mercantile sense" (p. 287).

Other structural issues, however, are not followed up. One writer characterized the consistently Westernizing periodical *Krytyka* as being "the most interesting intellectual periodical for the modernists and at the same time one of the most inaccessible and unacceptable for the absolute majority of the intelligentsia of Central and Western Ukraine" (p. 286). How true is this picture of *Krytyka*'s influence? Who does in fact read it? The positions taken by writers in *Krytyka* and *Suchasnist* are covered in detail by Hnatiuk, so the question of their social appeal is not irrelevant to the subject matter. Moreover, both of these periodicals have their roots in the Ukrainian diaspora in the West: a discussion of the role and impact of that diaspora would not have been out of place. By deciding to limit herself only to Ukrainian-language writers, Hnatiuk closed the door on the largest issues of all: what are the alternatives to the Ukrainophone Ukrainian identity in Ukraine and what are their prospects? Although most of the figures with whom Hnatiuk is concerned write with distaste of the "Mankurts"/Janissaries/Little Russians/Creoles, we hear nothing from the perspective of these Russophone Ukrainians. Do they articulate a position on identity, or are they indifferent to the whole issue of identity? Are they the majority of Ukraine's inhabitants? Are they the majority of the nation? Do they constitute any nation at all? Are they as open to a Russian identity as to a Ukrainian identity or perhaps even more so? With these issues excluded, Hnatiuk's book reminds me of one of those old maps of Africa that shows settlements on a coastline, but the immense interior is labelled *terra incognita*.

Yet, what Hnatiuk set out to do and what she does, she does exceptionally well. Her work reveals a literary discussion in the 1980s and 1990s at least as exciting and consequential as that of the 1920s. This is a work that deserves translation into other languages and first of all into Ukrainian and English.

John-Paul Himka  
University of Alberta

Robert Legvold and Celeste A. Wallander, eds. *Swords and Sustenance: The Economics of Security in Belarus and Ukraine*. Cambridge, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences and MIT Press, 2004. xiv, 266 pp.

While, as the editors themselves state, "it is obvious that security and economics are related," the exact nature of the relationship becomes obscure and problematic, as might

be expected, when it is examined in the crucible of real-world politics. In few regions of the world is this relationship more intricate than in the states that were once part of the Soviet Union. As a result, the purpose of this tome, to elucidate the relationship between security and economics in Ukraine and Belarus, is ambitious in that it seeks to answer two complicated yet interrelated questions: first, how are security and economics related in these two ostensibly similar, yet actually different, states, and secondly, why did these states choose to link their security and economic development in different ways? The two questions are interrelated, and the book as a whole gives the reader a clearer appreciation of the nuances of the relationship between economics and security.

Andrew Wilson and Clelia Rontoyanni lay the foundation for the reader's understanding of this relationship by outlining Ukraine's and Belarus's cultural and political backgrounds. This is complemented by Celeste Wallander's second chapter, which sets out the Russian perspective on the relationship between economics and security. In the third chapter, Rawi Abdelal explores in some detail the critical role of energy dependence and energy transportation in the relations between Ukraine and Belarus on the one hand and Russia on the other. The next chapter, by Hrihoriy Perepelitsa, outlines the nature of the three states' military production and assesses the extent and character of their military cooperation. In chapter five Igor Burakovsky dwells on the degree of economic integration and interdependence in the post-Soviet space and its impact on security in the region. Robert Legvold, in the penultimate chapter, describes the Western view of the link between Ukraine's and Belarus's security and economies.

The non-theoretical introductory chapter, written by the editors, may attract the lay reader but will leave the academic economist or international-relations specialist unimpressed because of its "painting-by-numbers" approach to security and economics ("in a world where states need to be powerful to be secure, need to be wealthy to be powerful, but need to be interdependent to be wealthy," p. 3). Other than that, there is little to criticize in the book.

A particular strength of the book is its balance. The lengthy first chapter provides an insightful overview of the evolution of Ukrainian and Belarusian security economics and isolates the key variables (which happen to be the different attitudes to Russia and domestic political considerations) that account for the two countries' divergent approaches. This first chapter is superbly balanced by the second one, which explores the Russian standpoint on the link between security and economics and its impact on Russia's relations with its two neighbours. Although Wallander's inclination to theorize is briefly exposed ("while not reflecting realist security interests ... as expected in liberal theories," p. 63), she provides a powerful insight into the domestic factors behind the evolution of Russian foreign policy. Her conclusion that "an integrationist, marketizing Russia is a regional power whose objectives present its neighbours with dangers as well as opportunities" (p. 96) is undoubtedly correct but somewhat uninspired.

The remaining chapters provide the key details. This is especially true of Abdelal's chapter, which does more than get to the heart of that which inextricably links the security and the economies of the three states; namely, energy and energy transportation. Abdelal's analysis of the intricacies surrounding Ukraine's and Belarus's dependence on Russian energy and the resulting divergent economic policies adopted by them encapsulates the entire dilemma facing these states.

The chapters by Perepelitsa and Burakovsky are impressive in their technical details. The first offers some all-too-rare glimpses into the maladapted structural underpinnings



of military production in each of the three states and the extent of their cooperation in military production.

The "Orange Revolution" has not dated the book as much as one might expect. If there is a shortcoming in the book, then it lies in the fact that it pays too little regard to the rising price of oil, a phenomenon of increasing importance in the post-Soviet space. As one of the world's largest exporters of oil, Russia is benefiting significantly from the high prices for hydrocarbons. In light of the role of energy in the interrelations among the three states the issue deserves much more attention.

Ultimately, the strength of the book lies in its balanced and clear presentation of the wide range of factors impinging on the relationship between security and economics in a region as highly interdependent and complex as the former Soviet Union. I commend the authors and editors for the succinct prose in which they accomplish this.

Kataryna Wolczuk  
University of Birmingham  
England

Paul D. Morris, ed. *A World of Slavic Literatures: Essays in Comparative Slavic Studies in Honor of Edward Mozejko*. Bloomington, Ind.: Slavica, 2002. viii, 227 pp.

This volume was compiled as a festschrift on the occasion of Edward Mozejko's seventieth birthday, and it is a fitting tribute to the prolific Slavist and comparatist from the University of Alberta. The fourteen contributions from friends, colleagues, and former students, which range from an analysis of Russian postmodern prose to a discussion of Krzysztof Kieślowski's film oeuvre and a theoretical meditation on literary modernism, recall Mozejko's scholarly versatility across national literatures and modes of artistic expression. In fact, the lack of a distinct thematic, generic, or national orientation is the volume's most distinguishing feature. It allows intertextuality to flourish and challenges the reader to posit and explore connections, old and new, among six diverse, interpenetrating cultural traditions: Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Bulgarian, and Ukrainian.

Perhaps predictably, however, this breadth often comes at the expense of depth (and some copy-editing). In an article on the centrality of the notions of family and home in Mikhail Bulgakov's *White Guard*, for example, Allan Reid posits a hierarchical relationship in the novel between "the individual, the family, and the nation," but misses an opportunity to consider, at least indirectly, how the efforts to establish a Ukrainian state in 1918, the year in which *White Guard* is set, might bear on Bulgakov's conception of nation. In fact, for all his references to Russia and Russian culture, Reid never mentions Ukraine. In "European Peripherality: The Image of Bulgaria as Other," Roumiana Deltcheva investigates the Western discursive practice of marginalizing and orienting Bulgaria and cites George Bernard Shaw's drama *Arms and the Man*, which is set in Bulgaria, as an "archetypal [marginalizing] text." Although she concedes in a footnote that Shaw's "grotesque" representation of Bulgaria and Bulgarians in the play may be an ironic analogue to Ireland and the Irish, Deltcheva proceeds to read the master dissembler only on the surface level and ascribes to him a "patronizing" and "mocking"



attitude toward his "primitive" Bulgarian characters. This critical approach may be convenient, but it is hardly circumspect.

To readers involved in Ukrainian studies, Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj's "Cultural Indeterminacy in the Russian Empire: Nikolai Gogol as a Ukrainian Post-Colonial Writer" and Natalia Pylypiuk's "Vasyl' Stus, Mysticism and the Great Narcissus" will be of special interest. The first is an engaging, albeit ultimately unsuccessful, attempt at a "post-colonial reading of Gogol." While arguing persuasively that "Gogol" was constructed as a 'Russian' by an imperial discourse that had a stake in perpetuating and preserving this classification," Ilnytzkyj confines his reading to the vicissitudes of Gogol's national self-identification and fails to mobilize any of his prose works as evidence of post-colonialism. This is problematic, as one is a "post-colonial writer" to the extent that one's *writing* is post-colonial. By neglecting to examine how Gogol appropriates, manipulates, and subverts colonial discourse at the level of text, Ilnytzkyj can assert nothing more than that the writer's identity was fluid, hybrid, both Russian and Ukrainian. The question whether Gogol's work is post-colonial, meanwhile, remains open and is worthy of further study.

There is no shortage of textual analysis in Natalia Pylypiuk's fascinating study of mystical narcissism in the poetry Vasyl Stus, which won the 2003 Best Article Prize from the American Association for Ukrainian Studies. Pylypiuk brings a knowledge of a wealth of literary and philosophical sources to a close reading of Stus's poetry and argues that he "puts into poetic practice ... the quest of discovering and transfiguring the self into its essential principle." The main influence on Stus in this regard is Skovoroda, whose dialogue "Narcissus" "posits a program for the psychological reconstitution of the self." Stus's poetry has been often overshadowed by Stus the martyr-dissident; hence, Pylypiuk performs a valuable service by exploring Stus's poetry in all its lyrical and semantic complexity. Her skill in pursuing multiple lines of analysis and teasing out intertexts, from Skovoroda to Tadeusz Rózewicz to Horkheimer and Adorno, exemplifies the best in comparative Slavic studies. Her article is the centrepiece of this collection, honouring one of the field's most distinguished scholars.

Rory Finnin  
Columbia University

Taras Hunczak and Dmytro Shtohryn, eds. *Ukraine: The Challenges of World War II*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, and Oxford: University Press of America, 2003. 420 pp.

The book consists of twenty essays, five translated documents, and an index. According to the preface, most of the essays originated as papers at Ukrainian studies conferences at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign, apparently during the 1980s. Two essays are said to be reprints from publications by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, but I count four such items: the two essays by Peter J. Potichnyj, one on the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Germans and the other on Ukrainians in various military formations, Taras Hunczak's article on Ukrainian-Jewish relations, and Bohdan Krawchenko's essay "Soviet Ukraine under Nazi Occupation," which first appeared as a chapter in his *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-*

*Century Ukraine* (1985). Basil Dmytryshyn's essay on the Waffen-SS Division Galicia also first appeared some years ago. Hunczak has slightly expanded his 1990 essay on the number of unnatural deaths of Ukrainians during the war (in which he includes Jewish and other non-Ukrainian deaths).

Other contributions are less known or indeed new. Iurii Shapoval and John Basarab discuss events in 1939 and 1940 in the western Ukrainian regions. There are brief notes by Wolodymyr Stojko on Nazi planning and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1940 and 1941, by Rudolf A. Mark on the Nazi view of Ukraine and Ukrainians, and by Hunczak on Ukrainian-Polish relations. Edward D. Wynot, Jr. argues that the evidence "indicts the Poles" for their stance toward the Ukrainians in prewar Poland. Myroslav Prokop discusses the OUN. In a third contribution to this volume, Potichnyj describes Soviet measures from 1944 against what he calls the Ukrainian liberation movement. Arkady Joukovsky discusses Ukrainian territories under Romanian rule during 1941 and 1942. Andrew Turchyn presents a survey of the Greek Catholic Church, and Alexander Voronyn deals with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church during the war. Then there are articles on Ukrainian culture: by Valerian Revutsky on the theatre, and by Jaroslav Rozumnyj and Wolodymyr T. Zyla on the reflection of the war in postwar poetry and prose.

In the preface the editors express their general assessment of the Ukrainians' role in the Second World War as follows: Ukraine "suffered the greatest human losses of any nation" during the war, but its political leader, a capitalized Underground Movement, "left for the future generations a vivid symbol of heroic struggle for independence." The attitude that informs this volume is to varying degrees apologetic, although Dmytryshyn calls the decision by Ukrainian leaders to assist in the formation of a Waffen-SS division "the surest way to defeat, to great suffering and loss of lives, and to a pro-Nazi stigma that will take many years of hard work to erase." I learned the most from John Basarab's essay on the German-Soviet population exchanges in 1939 and 1940. Students who are new to the topic of wartime Ukraine will likely find the book useful. Advanced students who read Ukrainian, however, will benefit more from some of the monographs and articles that are now appearing in Ukraine.

Karel C. Berkhoff

*Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies*  
Amsterdam

Tatiana Kardinalowska. *The Ever-Present Past: The Memoirs of Tatiana Kardinalowska*. Transcribed by Assya Humesky; translated by Vera Kaczmarska; ed. Uliana Pasiecznyk. Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2004. xiv, 180 pp.

This woman's memories of her dramatic, twentieth-century life attracted my attention above all because of her two "celebrity" marriages, first to Vsevolod Holubovych, Central

Rada member in 1917 and prime minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic in early 1918, and later to Serhii Pylypenko, a very visible writer during the Soviet Ukrainian renaissance of the 1920s and then martyr to Stalinist repressions in the 1930s. As such, Kardinalowska's memoirs join the literature of wives and (eventually) widows of Stalin's victims, from Anna Akhmatova to Evgeniia Ginzburg and beyond. They also re-create the revolutionary years of 1917–18, when an independent Ukraine became imaginable in new ways; the lively atmosphere of the 1920s in literary Kharkiv, the capital of Soviet Ukraine at the time; and the famine of 1932–33 and the reaction of Soviet officials and intellectuals.

Kardinalowska devotes several chapters to her life as the daughter of a high-ranking officer in the Russian Imperial Army in the years before the revolution. The family is transferred from posting to posting, and young Tatiana develops a sense of the ethnic diversity of the Romanov lands, especially during her years in the Caucasus. Her childhood also illustrates the strong, competing attractions of Ukrainian culture, which was encouraged by her father and other Ukrainophile relatives, Russian literature, and world literature. Despite her father's attachment to Ukrainian culture and history, Kardinalowska insists that he could never support Ukraine's independence because of his belief that Russia would never grant it. In any event, he died in early 1917, months before Russia did just that, at least provisionally and partially. Kardinalowska traces her coming to Ukrainian national consciousness, a conversion process that was shaped by her childhood literary tastes.

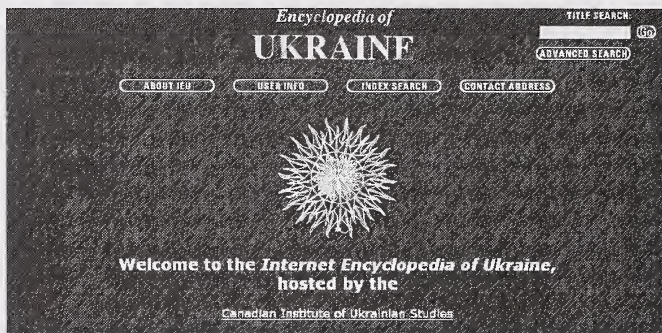
Kardinalowska's mother, described by her as more bohemian in her tastes than her military father, also had a significant influence on her life and intellectual development. She inculcated in her a contemporary feminist sensibility of the ability and right of women to equal education and professional achievement. Her sense of frustration with the prevailing patriarchy, even among the socialist left, comes through most clearly in her decision to divorce Holubovych after he insisted on naming their child if it turned out to be a boy and left the decision to her if it was a girl. Her sense of independence enabled her to survive the tragedies that the revolution, Soviet rule, Stalinist terror, and the German occupation threw in her path. Her strong voice complements and challenges the mostly male-written memoirs of those years.

She passed some of that independent spirit to her two daughters, who emigrated with her after the Second World War: one, a talented sculptor, Mirtala, and the other, Assya Humesky, professor emerita of Slavic languages and literatures at the University of Michigan. Dr. Humesky transcribed her mother's memoirs, which first appeared in Ukrainian (Kyiv, 1992).

Although Kardinalowska's life ended in 1993, her poignant and very readable memoirs break off before the Second World War, when she and her daughters joined the ranks of *Ostarbeiter* in the Third Reich. The memoirs are a valuable source for scholars of modern Ukrainian and Russian history, as well as of modern Ukrainian and Soviet literature and literary politics.

Mark von Hagen  
Columbia University

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а—a	і—i	т—t
б—b	ї—i	у—u
в—v	й—i	ф—f
г—h	к—k	х—kh
ґ—g	л—l	ц—ts
д—d	м—m	ч—ch
е—e	н—n	ш—sh
є—ie	о—o	щ—shch
ж—zh	п—p	ю—iu
з—z	р—r	я—ia
и—y	с—s	ь—omit
		ий—y in endings of personal names only.

Journal of Ukrainian Studies  
CIUS, Toronto Office  
20 Orde St., Room 125  
University of Toronto  
Toronto, ON, M5T 1N7  
Canada  
e-mail: zakydalsky@sympatico.ca

# Synopsis:

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